



The Life-Size Buddha Statue of Mathurā.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA

(Second & Revised Edition)

BY

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ALLAHABAD
THE INDIAN PRESS, LTD.
1948

Printed and Published by K. Mittra,
at The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad,

To
Goddess of Learning
in Reverent Worship.

FIRST EDITION, 1939
SECOND EDITION, 1948

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of my book Early History of India having run out of print long ago, a new edition of this work was called for. The MS of a revised and enlarged edition was prepared three years ago, but the difficulties of press and paper arising out of the exigencies of the war delayed its publication. I am thankful to the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, for having undertaken to publish this work in June, 1947 and bravely coped with all manner of difficulties to bring it to light in August, 1948.

The book has been thoroughly revised and re-written in the light of new information that is coming so rapidly in such vast bulk as a result of fresh discoveries and researches. The effect has been that the book has been twice its former size. No pains have been spared to bring it up-to-date. The delay in the publication made it possible for me to incorporate in it the results of the latest researches, even upto 1947.

Attention may be drawn to several new features to be found in this edition : (1) Material changes have been made in a number of chapters in the light of new and accepted conclusions on facts of political history, (2) and greater emphasis has been laid on its cultural aspects which were less attended to in the first edition. (3) As many as five maps have been specially prepared and provided in the book to make it more helpful to students. (4) Some important topics which are still in the realm of controversy and no definite

conclusions have been arrived thereof, have been given in the form of Appendixes, instead of in the body of the book. There are four such Appendixes.

About the latest results of the researches incorporated in the book, I must acknowledge my debt to M. M. Prof. Mirashi's works on Vākāṭaka history which I have extensively used and acknowledged in the foot notes. Works of other scholars which have been consulted where it was necessary, either for acceptance or rejection of the views stated therein, have also been referred to in the foot notes.

My thanks are due to my students Shri Chandra Chur Mani, M.A., Shri Sachchidanand Pandy, M.A., Shri B. K. Banerjee, M.A., for assisting me in going through the proofs; and to Shri Viyaya Kanta Misra, M.A., Shri V. C. Pande, my students, and Shri S. Mazumdar of the Indian Press, for preparing the Index. It cannot be claimed that the Index is exhaustive, but care has been taken to include all important references.

N. N. GHOSH

'Ganga Villa'
New Bairana,
— Allahabad.

30th June 1948.

~~EXTRACTS~~ FROM THE PREFACE OF THE FIRST EDITION.

The scope, range and the period of the historicity of ancient India are being increased every day on account of archaeological discoveries and researches of oriental scholars; materials for writing a history of Ancient India are being added from day to day; special monographs or articles by learned scholars are being published at a uniformly good rate for the last twenty-five years; besides, the materials available in our ancient literature are voluminous. To make full use of those materials and write a history of ancient India in the form of a handy text-book has been a difficult task. My work has been to make a critical study, select and sift those materials. The nature and scope of this book would allow none of the controversial and abstruse discussion of evidences. Having, therefore, avoided them, I have endeavoured to give in a simple, direct narrative an up-to date authoritative and comprehensive picture of ancient Indian history embodying the generally accepted results of the most recent researches. How far I have succeeded in my object, it is for the indulgent readers to judge.

I have stated on some topics my personal opinions where they were due and given here and there foot-notes to cite certain authorities for stimulating further reading by interested and advanced students.

'Ganga Villa',
New Bairana,
Allahabad.

N. N. Goswami

July 10, 1939.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ABNU.—Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University.

AIHT.—Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, by F. E. Pargiter.

AHD.—Ancient History of the Deccan by H. Dhruvachal.

Allan. Cat.—Catalogue of the Coins in British Museum—
Coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Sri Lanka
king of Gauda.
by J. Allan.

ASIAR.—Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports.

Arch. Surv. West.—Archæological Survey of Western India.

ASR. Mysore—Archæological survey of Mysore Annual Reports.

Aśoka—By D. R. Bhandarkar.

AUAS.—Allahabad University Annual Series.

Beal—Buddhist Records of the Western World.

BM. Cat.—British Museum, Catalogue of coins.

Bomb. Gaz.—Bombay Gazetteer.

CHI. I.—Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.

CCIM.—Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum by
V. Smith.

CII.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Vol. I edited by E. Hultzsch
Vol. II. edited by Sten Konow.
Vol. III. edited by J. Fleet.

Dh. C.—Dhammapada Commentary.

Dig. Nik.—Digha Nikāya.

Dīp.—Dipavamśa.

DKA.—Dynasties of the Kali Age, by F. E. Pargiter.

Div.—Dīyāvadāna, Ed. by Cowell and Neil.

- EAI.—Education in Ancient India by A. S. Altekar.
- EHD.—Early History of the Deccan by R. G. Bhandarkar.
- EHI.—Early History of Ancient India by V. Smith.
- Ep. Ind.—Epigraphia Indica.
- Fleet.—Gupta Inscriptions.
- Fa-hien.—Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa-hien's Travels, Tr. by J. H. Legge.
- GEB.—Geography of Early Buddhism by B. C. Law.
- GOM.—Government Oriental Publications, Madras.
- Harsha—By R. K. Mookerji.
- He.—*Harshacharita*.
- He. T.—*Harshacharita*—English Tr. by Cowell and Thomas.
- IA. or Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
- New Ind. Ant.—New Indian Antiquary.
- IC.—Indian Culture, Calcutta.
- Imp. Gaz.—Imperial Gazetteer of India.
- Ind. Hist. Quart.—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- JASB.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JBRS.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JBORS.—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- JMBS.—Journal of the Maha-Bodhi Society of India & Ceylon.
- JNSI.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
- JRAS.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Life.—Life of Yuan Chwang (Beal).
- MASI.—Memoranda of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- *Mbh.—The Mahābhārata.

ABBREVIATIONS

MHV.—Mahāvastu.

NHL.—New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI.
(Bharatiya Itihas Parishad.)

PE.—Pillar Edict of Asoka.

PHAI.—Political History of Ancient India by H. C. Ray-
chaudhuri.

Pradhan, CAL.—Chronology of Ancient India by Sita Nath
Pradhan, (Calcutta.)

The Periplus—Of the Erythraean Sea.

Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.—Proceedings of the Indian Historical
Congress.

RASI.—Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.

RE.—Rock Edict of Asoka.

SI.—Select Inscriptions by D. C. Sarkar.

SII.—South Indian Inscriptions.

Watters.—On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India by Watters, Vols.
I & II.

Winternitz.—History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz,
(English Translation).

CORRIGENDA

Readers are requested to notice the following errors & print & insert in the body of the book the corrections pointed out. Abbreviation F.N. for Footnote ; M.N. for Marginal note.

Page	Line	Correct	Wrong.
1	7	Himālaya	Himalaya
9	20	historical	historical ^s
"	21	<i>Haribharita</i>	<i>Harsha Charita</i>
12	29	appear	appear ^s
13	1	Kābul	Kabul
14	9	Patri ^{ce} le	Patri ^{cies}
"	16	Fashien	Fashian
"	20	Yuan Chwang	Ynan Chowang ^s
15	3	Nālandā	Nālanda
19	13	in	it
27	24	Śāradī	Śāndri
46	10	<i>Kalpa sūtra</i>	<i>Kalpa sutra</i>
93	10	Sopātā	Sopora
94	17	Comma	Full stop
"	29	while	While
96	29	undivided	individual
98	1	in	of
101	F. N. 2	Asiknī	Asikini
107	F. N. 1	Pātañjala	Pātanjali
129	22	Mukhyas	Mukhyās
133	32	Rājputānā	Rājputanā
142	4	sōn	sōn

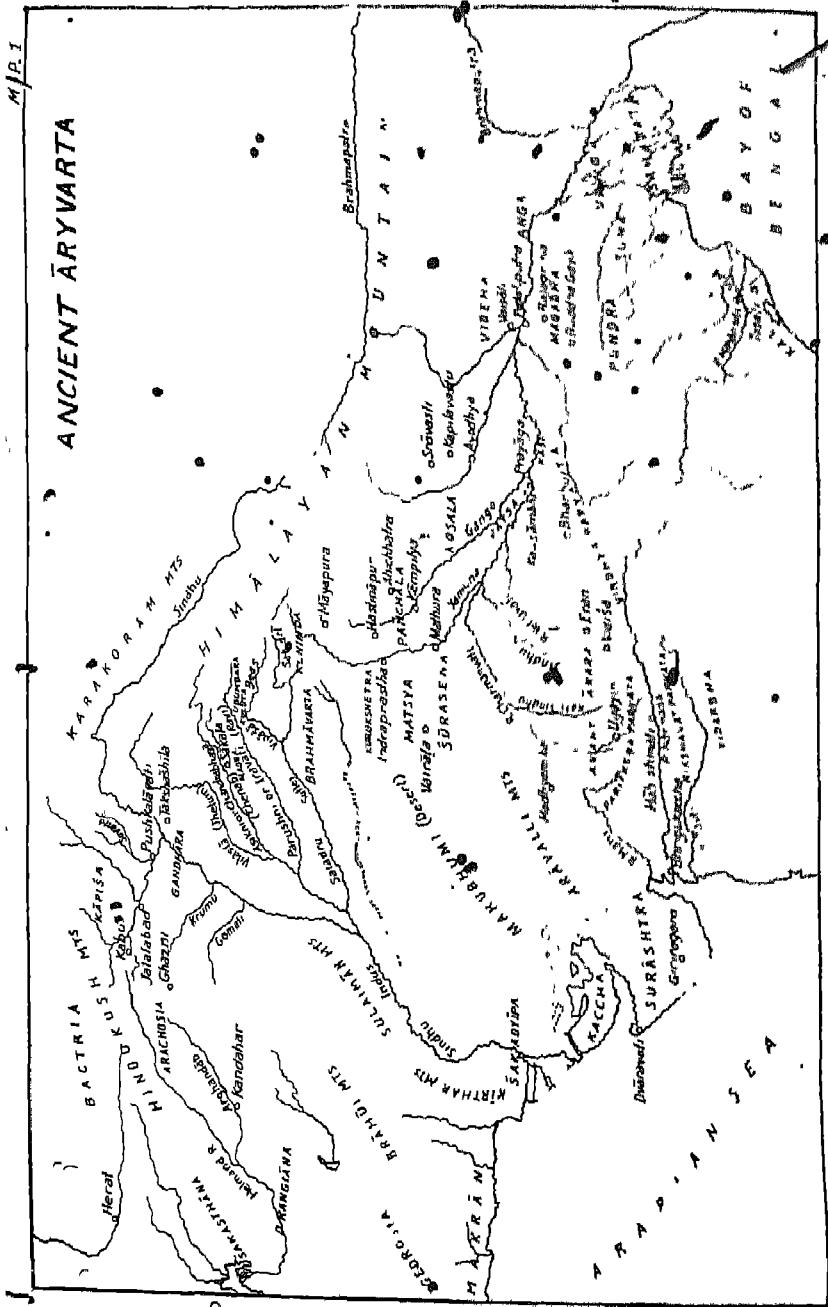
CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Correct	Wrong
148	1	veins	viens
149	7	Surāshṭra	Sūrāshṭra
159	F. N.	1	2
"	"	2	1
163	F. N.	Raychaudhuri	Raychaydhuri
164	21	Śākala	Śākala
165	1	Śunga	Sunga
168	2	chaṅkrama	chankrama
171	M.N. F. N. 1	Home	House
174	6	the	a
177	15	Sambandhāvidūratayā	Sambandhā Vidura
181	16	Pahlavas	Pallavas
185	30	Erythraean	Arythrean
186	28	Allan	Allen
187	15	24 B.C.	39 B.C.
	32	Chabuthe	Chabuye
	38	tadāga pādiyo	tadāga pādiyo
	40	ratiyati	ratiyati
		किडिता	लख
		लेख	लख
189	9	Kumāri	Kumāri
191	{ 5	Samanvitam	Samanniyitam
	6	Choyaṭhi	Choyathi
	9	Vādyavisīshṭam	Vāyāvistum
204	19	Phraates	Phraetes
280	19	Prinsep	Princep
365	18	Parameśvaravarman	Parameśvarman
193	31	thus	this
196	F. N. 2	Kaum	Kanm
238	1	Rāñjuvula	Ranjuvula
216	10	Rudrasimha	Rudrasimha
232	20	Prayāga	Prayāg
232	29	Kośala	Kosala

FRONTISPICE NOTE

The Gupta Kings, though they were Brahmanists, were tolerant to Buddhism. Buddhist art in those days attained a high degree of perfection. The Buddhist statue, then entirely freed from foreign influence, became the purest expression of mental repose achieved by the subjection of the flesh. This life-size Buddha statue dedicated by Buddhist Bhikshu, Yaśadharma in the fifth-century A.D., is to be found in the Mathurā Museum. It is a specimen of the noblest spiritual traditions which characterised the art of that age. The delicate fold of the diaphanous garment and the halo at the back of the head mark a vast improvement on the Gandhāra style and show an excellent taste and sense of beauty. The elaborate halo is covered all over with concentric bands of graceful ornaments in which festoons and foliage alternate with conventional flowers and *hairas*. The Gupta period has been rightly called the 'Golden Age' of Indian Art, of which this life-size statue (Frontispiece illustration) is one of the best examples.

ANCIENT ĀRYVĀRTA



INTRODUCTORY

1

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The history of a country is largely influenced by its geographical features. It is, therefore, necessary to the student of Indian history, specially of early Indian history, when it was in its formative period, to realize some of these outstanding geographical features of India which influenced its history.

In shape a three-cornered peninsula, India is bounded in the north by the lofty Himalayas and in the south, east, and west by the open sea. The north-west and north-east frontiers are guarded by the range of hills consisting of the off-shoots of the Himalayas.

India thus possesses natural protective barriers which not only give security to its frontiers but also give it a geographical unity which provides a back-ground for the development of a common civilization and a united nation. These natural frontiers had also the effect of making its civilization unique and original in character and ensuring a definite individuality to its people.

India (excluding the province of Burma which was separated in the year 1935 to form a new country) has an area which exceeds one and a half millions of British square miles.¹ It is thus larger than the whole of Europe minus Russia. It has an extensive seaboard running for more than three thousand miles. Its population according to the latest census on record is nearly four hundred millions.

The vastness of the country produced some inevitable physical characteristics : the **physical features** and climatic conditions are varied in character. There are inaccessible mountain heights,

¹ 1,808,679 Sq. miles more than twenty times that of Britain.

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the highest on the face of the earth, low alluvial plains, high table-lands, wild forests, secluded valleys and arid deserts. It has the hottest plains and the coolest hill-resorts. In consequence of this variety of physical conditions prevailing in different parts of this vast country, and the difficulties of communication between these parts in ancient India, the people of India have developed different manners, custom and languages, and the different races of early settlers have retained unimpaired their own individuality. This explains why India contains, in spite of its being an ideal geographical unit, a greater variety of races, religions, and languages than the whole of Europe. For all these varieties India may be more fittingly called a sub-continent than a country like, say, France or Germany.

In spite of these diversities due to reasons stated above, there are bonds of **fundamental unity**. Dr Vincent Smith says : "The essential fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture and civilization, utterly different from any other type in the world; that civilization may be summed up in the term of Hinduism. India is primarily a Hindu country, the land of the Brāhmans who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration and not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Brāhman institution, utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet and other borderlands, dominates the whole of Hindu India. Nearly all Hindus revere Brāhmans, venerate the cow and recognize the authority of the Vedas. Sanskrit is everywhere recognised as a sacred language. The great gods—Vishnu and Śiva—are more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim when going the round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrīnāth or on the burning sands of Rama's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as in Hindusthan. All alike share in the affection of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana."

Besides these bonds of cultural unity which bind the Hindus of diverse races, languages, manners, and custom by distinguishing them from the rest of mankind, there are other bonds which knit different religious communities—Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees. These bonds are common political and economic interests,

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which are of vital importance for their very existence, and therefore, rise higher than religious or racial differences. A proper orientation of this fundamental bond of unity, on the basis of common political and economic interests, is the strongest factor that should help to bind different communities and races into one united nation.

Internally the country is made up of four distinct regions according to the peculiar physical features in each : (1) The Himalaya mountain region ; (2) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and the Ganges ; (3) the Deccan Plateau lying between the Nerbādā in the north and the Kushnā and the Tungabhadrā in the south ; (4) the far-south beyond these rivers, comprising the group of Tamil States.

The Mountain Region of the north and north-west is made up of the Himalaya and the Suleiman hills, which lie west of the Indus, the valleys of which are peopled by fierce and war-like tribes who have retained intact their primitive mode of life. Their region forms part of the present N. W. F. Province created by Lord Curzon.

The Northern Plains are made up of the Indo-Gangetic valleys as well as the sandy desert, and rocky plains of Rājputāna to the Vindhya range, and the Narbadā. Here the Aryans developed their early civilization and they named the region Āryavatā.

The Deccan Plateau and the far-south together forming South India are separated from the northern plains of Hindūshān by a five-fold barrier of the Narbadā, the Tāpī, the Vindhya, the Sātpurā hills, and the Mahākāntāra or a broad belt of dense forests. These barriers kept South India free from the inroads of the Aryan immigrants for a considerable time, with the result that by the time Aryan rule, culture, and civilisation were finally established in Northern India, the native inhabitants of the South developed a different type of civilisation untouched by Aryan influence. Relics of this civilisation, called Dravidian, still exist in the South.

The large and navigable rivers with which Northern India is blessed, had a far-reaching effect. The great plains of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Jumna gave the Indo-Aryans their earliest

opportunity to settle as agriculturists, forget their restless nomadic habits and develop a civilisation at an early age when many other peoples of the world were no better than rude barbarians. Boats plying up and down these rivers carried on inland trade between distant parts of the country. The fertility of the plains watered by these rivers and their tributaries made cultivation easy and the production plentiful. Easy cultivation gave plenty of leisure to the people when agriculture was the occupation of almost every man, as it is to a great extent in India even now.

Plentiful agricultural production coupled with mineral wealth of all kinds made the country very rich. While leisure conduced to the growth of religious, philosophical and didactic literature, its wealth attracted the greed of its poor but hardy neighbours from beyond the mountain passes which were left more or less unguarded by any system of organised and effective defence. Its consequence has been, that India was subjected to a series of foreign invasions, resulting in conquests followed by either permanent settlements or mere plundering raids.

There is, however, an important fact to be noticed in this connection. After the development and consolidation of Hindu polity and culture by the Indo-Aryans in this country and up to the time of the Muhammadan invasion and conquest, whatever races came to India and settled in the country, were absorbed in the people and became completely Hinduised in manners, custom, and religion. But the Muhammadans came to India with a developed culture of their own and an aggressive type of missionary religion. They were, therefore, able to save their racial individuality and cultural distinction from being absorbed into Hinduism. The pride of the conqueror and the spirit of the iconoclast prevented the Muslim from being influenced by Hinduism, in the manner and measure in which the previous non-Muslim settlers in the country were influenced. The result is that since the coming of the Muslims, a twin stream of clearly different types of culture ran side by side. Yet as time passed on, each began to see some good in the other. Close contact for a considerable time wore away mutual prejudices. One culture contributed to enrich the other, and every aspect of Indian civilisation in the mediæval and later mediæval periods, in architecture, art, literature, and religion,

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bore the impress of a mixed culture which we may name Hindu-Muslim culture of India.

A new element, modern western culture, found its way to India with the coming of the English to this country as conquerors and rulers. Western education and Christian ideals have not failed to influence the Hindu-Muslim culture of India, and various aspects of our life to-day, political, economic, social, and religious, bear the stamp of western influence.

THE SOURCES OR THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES

The sources for the early history of India may be classified under the following heads :

A. LITERATURE

Unfortunately we have no contemporary writers of a historical book about ancient India like Herodotus who wrote the "*Histories of Greece*" or Livy who wrote the "*Annals of Rome*". Yet there is a vast and varied mass of ancient Indian literature which, when used with care and discretion, is a valuable source for our early history. This literature may be divided into (1) Sacred and (2) Secular.

(1) *Sacred Literature*. Under sacred literature mention must be made of the four *Vedas* of which the *Rigveda* is the oldest and is a rich source of Indo-Aryan history and polity during its development in the land of the seven Rivers. The *Brāhmaṇas* which are prose commentaries on the Vedic hymns or *Sāmhitās* speak of *Āryāvarta*. In them we find that their religion and mode of life both had considerable changes from their early simplicity. The *Āranyakas* and the *Upanishads* which form the last portion of a *Veda* embody philosophical meditations of learned sages on the soul, God, and the world. They reveal a state of development in culture and religious thought of the early Hindus which still lies unsurpassed in its depth and sublimity.

Special branches of science for the study of the *Vedas* grew up. They are known as the *Vedāṅgas* or supplementary sciences of the *Veda*. They are six in number, e.g., phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics, and astronomy.¹ These sciences.

¹ *Sikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇāṁ nṛuktaīm cchando jyotiṣhaīm*.—Mundaka Up., I. 1. 5.

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were developed to help to understand the Vedic texts properly. In the course of time these subjects were treated more and more systematically, and separate, special schools, though still within the Vedic schools, arose for each. These, then, evolved special school texts, the *Sūtras* or the manuals, composed in a peculiar prose style intended for memorisation. Brevity is the soul of the Sūtra style of writing.

The *Kalpasūtras* are the manuals on ritual which, as we have seen, is one of the *Vedāngas*. There are four divisions of the *Kalpasūtras*. The rules that relate to big sacrifices are collected in the name of *Śrautasūtras*. The rules that relate to domestic rites are collected under the name of *Gṛhyasūtras*. The rules or manuals on *Dharma* or law are called *Dharmaśāstras*. The *Sūtras* contain exact rules for the measurement and the building of the place of sacrifice and fire-altars. As such they are directly attached to the *Śrautasūtras*. As a separate science, however, they are the oldest works on Indian Geometry and Architecture.

The entire range of the Vedic literature from the Rigvedic *Samhitās* to the Sūtras covers the period of Indo-Aryan history from c. 2500 to c. 500 B.C.

The two great Epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—give a vivid picture of the social and political condition of the Aryans when they had settled for a considerable time in Northern India. It has not yet been definitely ascertained when the epics were composed or assumed their present shape. The earliest portions of the epics are very old indeed. But additions have been made in successive ages, spread over probably for a thousand years, before they have reached their present shape. Some scholars are of opinion that the latest recension of the epics was made in the second century A.D. but it may be earlier. There is no doubt that the original epics were composed not later than the third or second centuries B.C. The older nucleus of the epics, existing in the form of *gāthās* or ballads, is still older.

The *Dharmaśāstras*, we have seen, form that division of the Sūtra literature which deals with *Dharma* or law, that is, with the rules of social conduct, as distinguished from the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, which deal with domestic rites only. The

Dharmaśāstra literature has been directly evolved out of the Dharmasūtras. Its distinguishing features are that it is, unlike the Dharmasūtras, written in verse and is more elaborate and properly arranged in matters of law and legal procedures than the earlier law books, the Dharmasūtras. The earliest extant book on the Dharmaśāstras or the metrical smṛitis is the *Manusmṛiti*. The Hindus consider that the Manusmṛiti is undoubtedly of great historical value as representing the ideal and character of the Hindu society. It was composed according to Dr. Buhler between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. The age of Manu probably approximates the earlier rather than the later date suggested by Dr. Buhler. The later smṛitis such as of Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Bṛihaspati, and Nārada etc. were more or less based on the earliest extant and most authoritative code of Hindu law, the Manusmṛiti.

The Purāṇas are more akin to real histories than any other branch of sacred literature of ancient India. There are eighteen Purāṇas which are associated with the same number of *Upapurāṇas*. A Purāṇa has five sections, each dealing with a different topic. The fifth and the last section of the Purāṇas entitled Vāriśacharita deals with the history of royal dynasties. In several of these Purāṇas the royal dynasties of the past are followed by lists of the kings of the future in the form of prophecies. The prophetic style has been used in the Purāṇas to emphasise their antiquity. In the lists of kings of the Kaliyuga, we meet, among others, the dynasties of the Śaiśunāgas, Nandas, Mauryas, Sungas, Kanvas, Andhras and Guptas which are well known in history. Among the Śaiśunāgas are Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who are mentioned in the Jaina and Buddhist writings as contemporaries of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha (6th. to 5th. century B.C.) With the Maurya Chandragupta, who came to the throne in C. 322 B.C., we emerge into the clear daylight of history. Though these lists of the kings of the Kaliyuga can be utilised as historical sources with caution and discrimination, scholars have found through investigations that the Vishnupurāṇa is very reliable as regards the Maurya dynasty and that the Matsya-Purāṇa is also very reliable as regards the Andhra dynasty. The Vāyu-Purāṇa describes the rule of the Guptas as it was under Chandragupta (beginning of the 4th. century A.D.). At the end of the lists of the kings these Purāṇas

enumerate a series of dynasties of low and barbarian descent (Śūdras and Mlechchhas), such as Abhīras, Gardabhas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Hūnas and so on, which were contemporary with the former.

The Purāṇas do indeed contain very ancient traditions which have been referred to also in the Vedic literature, but for a long time they remained in the form of floating masses of oral traditions and handed down from generation to generation in the form of Ākhyāyikās or stories. It seems that the earlier Purāṇas had come into being as early as the first century of the Christian era, as there is a striking resemblance found between the Buddhist Mahāyāna texts of that period and the Purāṇas. The *Lalitavistara* not only calls itself a Purāṇa but really has much in common with the Purāṇas. Some passages of the *Mahāvastu* are strikingly similar to some of those of the Purāṇas regarding the emphasis given on the cult of Bhakti. It is probable that the entire Purāṇas received their final shape in the 5th or 6th century A.D., for neither later dynasties nor later famous rulers than the Guptas, such as Harsha, occur in the list of kings. Bāna (beginning of the 7th Century A.D.) knows the Purāṇas well and relates in his historical romance, the *Harsha Charita*, how he attended a reading of the Vāyupuṇḍra in his native village.

Tripitaka is the name given to the Buddhist canonical literature. Buddha lived and preached for fortyfive years after his enlightenment at Gaya. After his *parinirvāṇa* all his sayings were collected and classified into three divisions. His instruction relating to Church discipline were named Vinaya Pitaka. His discourses on religious doctrine were called Sutta Pitaka and those relating to the philosophical principles were called Abhidhamma Pitaka. Buddha's discourses and instructions were almost always coupled with stories and illustrations. As such, the books of the Tripitaka contain in them a mine of information about the political, social, and religious conditions prevailing in his time (c. 600 B.C.)

The Jaina canonical texts known as the Twelve Āṅgas supplement the information of the Tripitaka as they contain numerous historical statements and allusions of considerable value of the time of the founder of Jainism, Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary

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of Gautama Buddha. The *Jaina Kalpaśūtra* written by Bhadrabāhu in about 4th century B.C. is a valuable piece of information regarding the early history of the Jainas. It is believed that the Jaina canon in its present form was written in the Jaina conference at Valabhi (C. 500 A.D.)

Besides the canonical Pāli texts of the Tripitaka, there are other Pāli works on Buddhism which orthodox Buddhists regard, though not in the same degree, as the texts of the Pitakas. Among them mention must first be made of the Jātakas or stories of previous births of the Buddha, or Bodhisattva stories as they are called. A Bodhisattva, according to Buddhist traditions, is a being who is destined to obtain Bodhi (Enlightenment) i.e. to become a Buddha. Tradition has it that Gautama, the Buddha, had passed through countless births as man, animal or god, before he was born for the last time as the Śākyā prince, and received the enlightenment at Gayā. There are 549 of such Jātaka hitherto collected and published. In each of the Jātaka or birth story light is thrown on the political, social economic, and religious conditions of early Buddhist India. On monumental and epigraphic evidences the Jātakas can be dated in the second or third century B.C. There are reliefs of the Jātakas on the stone walls around the Stūpas of Barhut and Sāñcī which were built about that time. The Buddhist traditions date them further back, as some portions undoubtedly are, and relate to Indian life of the seventh or eighth century B.C., before Buddha was born. Jātakas are told in simple narratives in the most arresting style. The German orientalist, Winternitz, says, "The Jātakas were of inestimable value, not only as regards literature and art, but also from the point of view of the history of civilisation for the period of the third century B.C."¹

Another well-known Pāli text is the *Milinda Pañha* which speaks of the Buddhist priest Nāgasena and king Milinda who is identified with the Indo-Bactrian-king Menadeś, a contemporary of the Sunga emperor Pushyamittra of the second century B.C. The commentaries of the Pāli canonical texts written by Buddhaghosha who flourished in the 4th or 5th century A.D. contain in them copious historical and geographical allusions.

¹ Winternitz—vol. I, p. 155.

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2. *Secular Literature.* The limited space of this volume does not permit us to have a full and detailed summary of all the works under the head Secular Literature. We shall mention only a few typical works which contain important materials of historical value. Of these the first place is undoubtedly given to the *Arthashastra*, a book on political science ascribed to Kautilya, the famous Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya (400 B.C.)¹. The grammatical works of Pāṇini (C. 700—500 B.C.) and of Kātyāyana (C. 400 B.C.) throw valuable light on the history of the pre-Maurya and Maurya political condition of India. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣṭha*, and the historical drama *Mālādikāgnimitra* by Kālidāsa throw interesting light on the history of the early Śungas. The Sanskrit Buddhist texts the *Dīvyāvādāna*, the *Lahitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* as well as the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dīparamīsa* and the *Mahāvāmīsa* contain plenty of early Indian traditions chiefly concerning the Maurya and the Śākyā dynasties. The skilfully constructed historical drama the *Mudiārākshasa* of Viśakhadatta composed in C. 500 A.D. yields valuable information regarding the history of Nanda and early Maurya rule. The three dramatic works ascribed to Harsha, the *Nāgānanda*, the *Ratnāvalī*, and the *Priyadarśikā* throw interesting side-light on the history of the 7th century A.D. But as a piece of semi-historic work of the same century, the biographical work of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* is very important. It gives much accurate and valuable information, though here and there there is much affected rhetoric and exaggeration which mars its veracity in some cases. It has been aptly compared by V. Smith to Abul Fazal's *Akbarnamah*. The nearest approach to a work of regular history is the famous Sanskrit work, the *Rājatarangini*, composed in the 12th century A.D. by a Kashmīri Pañdita, Kalhana. The author narrates the history of the Kings of Kashmīr from the earliest time to his own. The record of events contemporary with and slightly preceding the author is very accurate

¹ For detailed study of the evidences regarding the date of the *Arthashastra* see my monograph on 'The Age and Authenticity of Kautilya *Arthashastra*' [Allahabad University Annual Studies, 1942, and Dr. A. B. Keith's reply to it in his article on the *Age of the Arthashastra*, [B.C. Law Volume I, 1945, pp. 477—95].

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and trustworthy. Although the work is primarily a narrative of the history of Kashmir Kings, it contains plentiful references to the events of other parts of India.

B. FOREIGN TESTIMONY.

The evidences of indigenous literatures are supplemented to a most important extent by the records of foreign writers. The Greek writers of pre-Alexandrian period mostly wrote from hearsay and travellers' tales. In this group are to be mentioned the names of Skylax, Hekataeus, Herodotus and Ctesias. Skylax was a Greek mercenary who had explored the Indus river at the bidding of his master, the Persian Emperor Darius, in the 5th century B.C. His narrative about India was evidently known to Aristotle, two centuries later, who quotes from it a statement that among the Indians the kings were held to be of superior race to their subjects¹. He astonished his countrymen with travellers' tales — stories of people who used their enormous feet as sunshades, of people who wrapped up in their own ears, and of people with one eye and so on.² His account is thus of very little historical value. Hekataeus of Miletus, a contemporary of Skylax, probably drew his information from the latter, as the phantastic stories about people with enormous feet etc. also appear in his geographical work, the *Periodes Geas*. In addition to the Indoi [the Indus river] he heard the name of the people called Gandhāri on the Upper Indus as also the name of a city in that region which he wrote as Kaspapyros. Herodotus (born, B.C. 484) also wrote about India. A good deal of what he wrote was no doubt drawn from Hekataeus, and as such was fantastic. Certain of the broad facts about India he knew correctly. 'The Indians are by far the greatest multitude of all the peoples of men whom we knew', he writes³. The Indians, however, whom he knew were more or less barbarous tribes near the Persian frontier. What he tells us therefore of their manners and custom do not apply to civilised India. He speaks of the Indians 'who dwelt near the city of Kaspapyros and the country of the Pactyes, (Pashtus), that is,

¹ Camb. Hist. Ind., vol. I, p. 393.

² Ib.

³ Ib. p. 395.

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the hill tribes about the Kābul valley. 'They were', he says, 'the most war-like'. It was these tribal peoples who evidently formed part of the army of Xerxes which invaded Greece. Herodotus describes the dress, equipment etc. of the 'Indians' serving in the army of Xerxes thus: "They wore garment made from trees (*i.e.* cotton) and carried bows of reed with iron heads. Some fought on foot and some in chariots drawn by asses."¹ He also speaks of trees that bore wool, surpassing in beauty and in quality the wool of sheep, and the Indians wear clothing from these trees'.

Ktesias, a native of Knidos in Karia was by profession a physician and in this capacity lived for 17 years (415-39 B.C) in the court of Artaxerxes. But he did not properly utilise the exceptional opportunities for acquiring correct knowledge of India. His *Indika* though written in an attractive style is full of fables. Mr. Bevan calls him a deliberate 'liar'.²

Alexander's expedition was not entirely military; it was also partly scientific, and made vast additions to the sum of human knowledge. The great conqueror himself was the disciple of a great master of knowledge, and among the officers who accompanied him into India, not a few were distinguished for their literary and scientific culture. Among them the most eminent were, Ptolemy who became the king of Egypt, Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's fleet; Onesicritus, the pilot of the fleet; and Aristobulus who wrote his book long afterwards, in extreme old age. The richest and most trustworthy contribution to the Greek knowledge of India was that of Skylax whose book contained a detailed account of his voyage between the Indus and the Persian Gulf. His book also contained a good deal of incidental information about India. Onesicritus who took part in the expedition of Nearchus also wrote a book about it and about India. But Strabo considers him untruthful.

These writers were succeeded by three ambassadors sent successively by Greek sovereigns to the Indian court at Palibothra (Pātaliputra), namely, Megasthenes, Deimachus sent from the Syrian court, and Dionysius sent from the Egyptian court of

¹ Ib. p. 396.

² Ib. p. 397.

Ptolemy. Deimachus was sent to Amitiachates (Bindusāīa). The books of Deimachus and Dionysius, if they wrote any at all, are almost entirely lost to us. The statements quoted from them by later writers are few and far-between and usually relate to unimportant subjects. But the book written by Megasthenes, ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, was the fullest account of India which the Greek world ever had.

Only one other writer calls for mention. Somewhat later than the work of Megasthenes on India, Ptolemy, governor of the provinces between the Indus and the Caspian Sea, under Seleukos Nikator and Antiochus I wrote an account of those countries including India which was often cited by Strabo who commended his veracity and also by Eratosthenes, the President of the Alexandrian Library (240—296 B.C.) who was the first to raise Geography to a science.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien visited India in the fifth century A.D., and left a valuable record of his observations about the government and social conditions of the Gangetic provinces during the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. He was followed two centuries later by Yuan-Chewang, the prince of pilgrims, whose sojourn in India lasted for fifteen years and covered almost every part of the country. His work contains important records of the political, religious and social conditions of India during the time of Harsha Vardhana (686—648 A.D.). A generation later a third Chinese pilgrim I-tsing visited India and left a record of his observations.

The Muslim scholar Alberuni (1000 A.D.) who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni and studied Sanskrit and Hindu social custom and religions wrote an interesting and scholarly account of India in his famous book *Tahkik-i-Hind*.

C. ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological evidences are of three kinds. (1) Monumental, (2) epigraphic and (3) numismatic. The monumental evidence consists of ancient buildings, images, and other antiquities. Thanks to the Indian Archaeological Department happily inaugurated by the late Lord Curzon, quite a number of sites have been excavated and large number of materials of historical value

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discovered. Among the important sites of excavations are Mohenjo-daro (Sind), Harrappa, Taxila (Punjab) Mathurā, Kosamī, Sārnāth, Kasia and Sahet-Mahet (U.P.), Pāṭaliputra, Nālandā, Rājgir (Bihar); Sāñchī and Barhut (C.I.), Agadī, Lakshmanesvara, Vanavāsi, Pattadakal, Chitaldroog, Talkad, Halebid, Māskī, etc. in the South. Besides, Provincial Governments and private societies have carried on excavations at other places. The walls of the ancient buildings, stone slabs on the gate walls and the images etc. generally contain inscriptions which are a direct contribution to history. Besides the structure of these buildings, the sculptures found in them is highly illustrative of the state of civilization of the time to which they belonged.

Epigraphic evidence consists of inscriptions on stone slabs, pillars, rocks, copper-plates, walls of buildings, bricks, terracotta or stone seals and images. As a source of accurate history, inscriptions are the most valuable. For example, the pillar and rock edicts of Aśoka are a class by themselves as supplying the most authoritative source of the history of that great emperor. The votive inscriptions on the images of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas found in Sārnāth and on the site of ancient Kauśāmbī throw sidelights on the history of those two places. The Jhansi copper-plate inscription of Trilochanapāla of Kannauj shows the extent of his territory in the east. The famous Kara inscription (also a votive one) found on a piece of stone in the gateway of the ancient city of Kara definitely identifies the ancient city of Kauśāmbī with the village Kosam near Allahabad.

The evidence that is gathered from a scientific study of coins is called numismatic evidence. A coin bears on both sides generally the figure, the name and the date of the author of the coin. The earliest coins used in India are punch-marked coins which, however, do not contain any names or date but mere symbols and marks punched on both sides of them. Vincent Smith and Rapson held that these coins represented a private coinage. The former holds that they were issued by guilds and goldsmiths with the permission of the ruling powers and that the numerous obverse punches were impressed by different moneyers through whose hands the pieces passed, and the reverse marks were the signs of the approval by the controlling authority. Prof. Rapson

thinks that the obverse marks were the private marks of the money changers, and the reverse marks denote the locality in which the coins were issued. Recent researches have, however, proved that the punched coins constituted a regular public authority. A few punch-marked coins in Pāṭaliputra have been ascribed by Dr. Jayaswal to the age of Chandragupta Maurya.¹ A large number of coins bearing legends on both sides belonging to Indo-Bactrian kings have been found in Taxila, which have helped scholars to fix their chronology. Thanks to a large number of hoards discovered and the coins collected and preserved at several government museums, municipal museums and in the cabinets of private collectors, the scholars have a rich and plentiful source to make use of in order to construct the history of ancient India.

¹ J.R.A.S. Centenary Supplement, J.B.O.R.S., 1919, 17; 463; Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India,

III

PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The Indus Valley Culture (c. 3500 B.C.)

Our remarks on the introduction of the early history of India will not be complete unless we say a few words on the recently discovered archaeological proofs of the pre-historic Indus-Valley culture. Antiquities of pre-historic culture discovered in the pre-historic graves at Nāl in the Kalat State of Baluchistān about 1926 testify to the existence of a culture on the borders of India of about 3000 B.C. The collection comprises a bunch of copper implements, beads and beautiful groups of painted pottery and vessels. The culture represented by these objects is somewhat different from the one discovered at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and shows greater affinity with the painted fabrics of Persia and Mesopotamia. Those antiquities are housed in the Quetta Museum. The two important sites excavated in recent years which have yielded rich results revealing a high stage of civilisation and culture of a people living in the Indus valley in pre-historic times are Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The type and time of civilisation as revealed by the materials discovered in both places are almost identical and both places exist in the same belt of the Indus valley. Harappa is in the Montgomery district of the Punjab and Mohenjo-daro is on the lower Indus in the Larkana district of Sind. The publication of three magnificent illustrated volumes by Sir John Marshall, the late Director-General of Archaeology, containing an account of the discoveries of Mohenjo-daro, reveals that more than 5000 years ago, a magnificent city built on scientific plans stood there. The date has been hit upon by the discovery of a seal there which is identical with a Mesopotamian seal of c. 3500 B.C. The houses were built of baked bricks and mud. The streets were laid out in regular order that might compare favourably with those of a modern city. Most of the houses had a well for domestic purposes and were fitted with bath-rooms. The city had a good drainage system which is the picture shown led from

individual houses to the back streets, and from the back streets by cross drains to the main roads along which many deep drains ran out of the city. The structure, size and plan of the houses show a high standard of life. That the social and the political life of the people was highly developed is proved by the discovery of the remains of many public buildings and of a high-pillared hall which was perhaps used as a place of assembly to transact business of state.

The religion of the people seems to be iconic, the image of Śiva taking the place of honour. The worship of Phallic emblems—the *linga* and the *yoni*—also prevailed. Terracotta figures with elaborate head-dress and wearing ornaments such as necklaces and ear-rings represent some female deity. There are a number of instances of animal worship represented by numerous seals, sealings, terracotta figurines and images. A semi-human and semi-divine creature recalling the Sumerian god Eukidu and the half-human and half-animal forms of the Nāgas fall under this category. There are also evidences of the existence of tree worship and sun worship in Mohenjo-daro.

That the people made domestic use of cattle, sheep, poultry, buffalo, camel, elephant and deer, and that they were familiar with such animals as tiger and monkey is proved by the finding of numerous seals containing the figures of those animals. The discovery of terracotta vessels containing grains proves that the people of the Indus valley cultivated wheat and barley. Ornaments of various sorts discovered during the excavation prove that they knew the use of gold, silver, copper, and lead. They also used ornaments made of agate, ivory, bone and shells, and garments woven of cotton and wool. This shows that they were not only civilized but a wealthy and prosperous community.

That the people were also intensely religious is proved by the discovery of a number of beautiful temples still preserved in fine shape, which they used as places of worship of the Mother-Goddess and the three-headed Śiva.¹

¹ A seal portrays the figure of a three-faced male god, seated yogi-like, with animals on either side. Scholars interpret this god as the proto-type of the historic god Śiva.

Weapons of warfare used by them were spears, axes, bows and strings. The same kind of weapons we find mentioned in the Rigveda Samhitās to have been used by the Rigvedic Aryans. But the sword and defensive armour such as breast-plate or helmet which were used by the Rigvedic Aryans were probably not used by the Indus valley people, as none of them has yet been discovered at Mohenjo-daro. That the people were alive to the importance of play and pastime of their children is proved by the discovery of innumerable toys of various kinds—dolls, whistles, rattles, toy-carts, tiny grain vessels and water-jugs etc. The discovery of a large number of dice shows that they were fond of gambling.

Among the notable discoveries are numerous seals bearing inscription of pictographic characters like what were used in Proto-Elam and Sumeria. The beautiful figures of animals, such as bulls, buffaloes and unicorns of these seals testify to the high degree of perfection attained by these people in the art of engraving. These seals have yet remained a puzzle for scholars who have not yet been able to decipher them. Sumerian scholars like Langdon, Smith and Gadd, though engaged for a long time at the task, have made but little progress towards decipherment. Among the Indian scholars, Dr. Pian Nath of the Benares Hindu University asserts that he could by now have completed the decipherment according to the key he had prepared by a comparative study of the Indus, proto-Elamite¹ and Cretan scripts. He says that the Indus script is of Sanskrit origin and in a series of meetings he addressed in Allahabad in 1932, in one of which the writer had the honour to preside, the learned Doctor demonstrated on the canvas decipherment of some of the Indus symbols with the help of his very clever and interesting syllabary. The world, of course, has not yet accepted his theory of the Sanskrit origin of the Indus-valley script or his method of decipherment as correct. On the satisfactory decipherment of the script depends the solution of the problem whether the Indus-valley civilisation as revealed by the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa excavations is Indian

¹ Belonging to pre-historic Elam or Western Persia.

or foreign. If it is the latter, it is Sumerian¹ and is the relic of another temporary phase of foreign conquest and settlement like that of the Greeks in North-Western India, and of the Arabs in Sind. If it is the former, it is to be linked with the Dravidian culture and history of India rather than with the Aryan, and the task of the Indologists would be to find the missing links. There are weighty reasons, however, in favour of connecting it with the Dravidian civilisation in India than with the Aryan.²

¹ Belonging to Sumeria or Lower Mesopotamia.

² With the discovery of Mohenjo-daro the late Prof. Rakhal Das Banerjee's name is to be specially associated. He, as the Archaeological Superintendent of the Western circle, was the first man to hit the mound and start its excavation which was later continued by Sir John Marshall personally.

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE

There is hardly any country in the world which can boast of its people being of one type. India is no exception. Broadly speaking, the physical characteristics belonging to the various groups of human families, viz., the Negro (Black), the Mongolian (Yellow), the Caucasian (White) are visible in India.

Before the advent of the Aryans, India was inhabited by a people who as usual passed through the different stages of early human progress—the old Stone Age (Palaeolithic),

The dark-skinned aborigines of the Stone Age and the Iron Age.

In the old Stone or Palaeolithic Age, men lived by hunting or on jungle produce, and their weapons were made of rough stone, sticks or bones. Use of metals was unknown to them.

In the next stage of advance, these men began to build well-shaped and highly polished stone implements of various forms to serve different purposes. At this age, known as Neolithic, they learnt how to make fire and pottery, and cook their own food. Although the new Stone Age was distinctly the pastoral age of human advance, the Indian Neolithic men cultivated the land, used metal tools and gold ornaments. They also buried their dead and constructed tombs, usually surrounded by stone circles, specimens of which have been found by Mr. Cockburn in Mirzapur District¹. Hundreds of such tombs containing iron objects found in the South probably belong to the early iron age. The custom of cremating the dead adopted by the Hindus is evidently the result of Brahmanical influence. The use of gold by the Neolithic settlement existed at Maski, in the Nizam dominions, where gold-mine shafts are the deepest in the world. [lb.]

¹ V. Smith—Oxford History of India, p. 4.

In the next stage, iron and copper tools replaced stone implements. But in this respect, there is a difference between south and north. In South India, stone tools were superseded directly by iron without any intermediate step; in North India, the metal first used for tools, harpoons, swords and spear-heads was copper, and iron followed it. The Stone and Iron Age men of India offered a dogged resistance to the invading Aryans and were ultimately overpowered by them. They are now represented by the Kols, the Bhils, Santhals, Mundas, Oraons, and other sub-nosed and dark-skinned isolated jungle tribes found in various parts of Northern and Southern India with little or no mixture of outside blood. They have kept up their primitive form of worship, and speak a language which is utterly different from the Indo-Aryan languages. The manner of their living in the fastnesses of hills and the depths of jungles and their occupations of hunting, pasturage and crude agriculture are a distinct relic of their Palaeolithic or Neolithic forefathers, though in the matter of weapons of hunting, there has been a slight improvement. They now use bow and arrow and long lances, evidently adopted from the Aryans. It is believed that they belong to the Negro or Black family of mankind.

The members of the widespread group now generally known as Dravidian were also the people who lived in India before the advent of the Aryans. Their descendants are The Dravidians now represented by Tamil, Telegu, and Canarese speaking peoples of the Tamil land in the Southern Peninsula. It has not yet been definitely settled whether the Dravidians were the aborigines of India or had come into India from outside long before the coming of the Aryans. Some scholars think that a tribe living in the mountainous regions of Baluchistan known as the Brâhuis, speaks a tongue similar to the Tamil speeches mentioned above. They are also of opinion that the same Dravidian Brâhuis have undoubtedly similarity with the Sumerian ethnic types. From these ethnic and linguistic analogies they conclude that the Dravidians originally belonged to Western Asia and invaded India through

Baluchistān in pre-historic times. On the other hand, some scholars still hold that the Dravidians originally belonged to India and had spread through Baluchistān to Western Asia.¹

Even though there is still some doubt as to their original home, there is none that they had developed a high civilization in India before the coming of the Aryans and that they predominated both in Northern and Southern India. Dravidian influence is also seen in Vedic and classical Sanskrit. Vedic hymns are replete with facts about the dogged resistance that the Dravidians offered to the Aryans in North India. In the South, they evidently lived undisturbed for a considerable length of time to be able to consolidate their civilization and culture which still exists there.

Among the earliest immigrants to India were the members of the Mongolian family from China. Though they came to

India partly through Tibet down the valley of The Mongolian Brahmaputria, and partly through Burma down Element.

the valleys of the Mekong and the Irrawadi, their descendants are now seen settled in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Manipur and also in the districts of Assam and Bengal. Burma's population is largely of the Mongolian stock.

The next wave of immigrants into India was that of the tall, fair-skinned Aryans. They belonged to the great Caucasian stock of human race from which the present people of Europe and of South and Western Asia are derived. Where their original home was is still in speculation. The late Lokamānya Tilak held

that the original home of the Aryans was in the Arctic region, and others think that it was somewhere in Western Asia. A third view is that the Aryans originally lived in the regions now occupied by Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. Others again opine that their oldest habitation was the steppes of South Russia--the common borderland of Europe and Asia.

Wherever their original home may have been, it is certain that the movement of the Aryans was a wide one and took different

¹ Imp. Gaz. I, p. 302, XIV, p. 300 Hall: "The Ancient History of Near East (4th Ed.)

directions. Some branches of the family moved westward to Europe and became the parents of the Greek, Latin, Keltic, and Teutonic races to which most of the modern European nations trace their origin. Others moved towards the east and south-east. In course of their movement, some of them settled in the region now known as Persia and developed a civilization which is still to be seen in their descendants, the Persians of India.¹ Another group crossed the Hindukush and entered India through the Khyber Pass and settled in the region now covered by the North-Western Frontier Provinces and the Punjab. There they lived for a considerable time and composed at least the earliest of the four Vedas, before they moved further south and east down the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Muslims of the N.W.F. Province are the descendants of the Aryan settlers there. The bulk of the Muslims in the rest of India are converts from Hinduism and contain Aryan blood.

¹ The sons of the original Aryan settlers in Persia were driven from their homeland by the Arab invaders and found an asylum in India.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT ARYAN SOCIETY

THE EARLY ARYAN SOCIETY AS FOUND IN THE RIGVEDA

Everything that we know about the ancient Aryans in India is from their sacred literature, the Vedas. Rigveda, the earliest of four Vedas, is a mine of information about the political, social and religious life of the Indo-Aryans settled in the Punjab. Scholars differ as to the age of the composition of the Rigveda. The first writer on the subject Max Müller fixes the age of the composition of Rik Samhitās between 1200 and 1000 B.C., and that of the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads between 800 and 600 B.C. Mr. Jacobi and Lokamānya Tilak, on the other hand, date its composition much earlier on astronomical grounds. Jacobi holds that its composition began in 5000 B.C. and Tilak traces it further back to 6000 B.C. Dr. M. Winteritz, the latest authority on the subject, says that the Vedic period extends more probably to 3000 B.C.¹ Though it is not possible at this stage to be certain as to the date, the period starting from 3000 B.C. may be accepted as a safer and sober approximation to truth in the midst of all controversies, as the time when the Rik-Samhitās began to be composed.

A. POLITICAL CONDITION

The Rigvedic Aryans lived in tribes. Each tribe was composed of several families. The family was the unit of society.

The eldest male member of the family ruled the Patriarchal family as its head. The family was joint and fairly big. This is proved by the mention of numerous relations within the family fold which occurs again and again in the Rigveda Samhitās, viz., Jñāti, Jamī, Sajāta, Sabandhu etc. The Vedic Aryan family was essentially of the

* 1 Winteritz, Vol. I; Calcutta University, 1927, p. 258.

patriarchal type. 'Pitri' was the common name for father. The word is derived from the Sanskrit root 'Pā',¹ to protect; the eldest male member of the family was the father of the family in the sense of being its master and protector. He conducted the family worship, disposed of the family property, arranged marriages and settled family disputes.

Several families composed a tribe. The names of several tribes occur in the Rik Samhitās, e.g., the Bharatas, Matsyas, Kirvis, Tritsus, Yadus, Puius, Anus, etc. Each tribe was ruled either by a hereditary king or by an elected chief. Where the chief was elective, the heads of the families assembled in a *Samiti* to elect him. Ability to lead the tribe in war was the guiding qualification for election. The tribes were often at war with one another.

Enmity with the Dravidians was, however, a bond of unity among the different tribes who often united to fight the enemy.

War with the Dravidians. The hymns of the Rigveda are full of references to the internecine wars among the Aryan tribal kings and chiefs. But, they had a common language and common social and religious observances. The accounts of these wars among themselves or with the non-Aryans throw light on the mutual relations of the Indo-Aryan tribes, their alliances and disputes, their marches across the rivers, their worships, sacrifices and prayers on the field of battle.

There were constant wars between the Indo-Aryans and the Dravidians in Rigvedic and later Vedic periods, which witnessed their settlement in the Punjab and expansion into the Indo-Gangetic valleys. The Dravidians offered a dogged resistance to the Aryan invaders who because of their better weapons, better organisation and freshness of vigour prevailed over the enemy. The Dravidians, though defeated, did not give in all at once. They retreated but hung around in fastnesses and forests, plundered the village of the Aryans and stole their cattle. Thus they fought for centuries as they retreated. They interrupted the religious sacrifices of the conquerors, despised their 'bright gods' and

¹ पा + त् च् ।

plundered their wealth. But the Aryans conquered in the end ; the area of their civilization widened, waste lands and jungles were reclaimed and dotted with smiling villages and towns. Many Dravidians submitted and lived in the Aryan society as *dāsas* or slaves. Many moved to inaccessible parts and retained their independence.

The Aryans fought on foot or on horseback. Small chariots of the capacity of carrying a driver and the fighting man were used. There are numerous references to arms Mode of Warfare, and weapons in the hymns, such as, armours and helmets as defensive weapons and javelins, swords, battle-axes, bows and arrows as offensive weapons. King was the leader in war. Priests often accompanied him to pray and to officiate in sacrifices. The king and the nobles fought on chariots. The common people fought on foot. There are references to sling-stones being employed. The warrior wore a coat of mail and helmet and a band and arm-guard. The bow was drawn to the ear ; the arrow had a reed-shaft and the tip was either of horn or metal. Poisoned arrows were sometimes used. Banks of rivers were often the spots chosen for battle. The famous battle which Sudās, the Bharata king, fought against the League of the Ten Tribes—usually known as the battle of Ten Kings, was fought on the banks of Pariushnī (Mod. Rāvī). He also fought battles on the Vipāś (Beās) and Śatudri (Sutlej).

It appears that Rigvedic kings, at a later stage, were normally hereditary. We can clearly trace that the royal Bharata king was the son of King Divodāsa. But it must be noticed that the power of even a hereditary king was not without restraint. The *Samiti* which elected tribal chiefs also acted as a check on the king's power. The *Sabbā* functioned as King's Court of Justice. The king was the tribe's highpriest, its leader in war, its lord, 'Viśpati' or lord of Viś. The king's chief officers were the *Senāni* (*Senāpati*) and the *Purohita*. The *Purohita* had great influence with the king as the story of Viśvāmitra and Vasishtha in relation to the King Sudās shows. The *Gāmaṇi* is often mentioned as an important officer. The king behaved in a constitutional manner through the *Samiti* and

Kingship, Samiti and Sabha.

Sabha. The former was the national assembly of the whole people, the latter, the council of elders. The Samiti had no regular sessions like modern Parliaments but was called on special and important occasions, e.g., king's consecration, deliberations on war and peace. In this there is some analogy between the Vedic Samiti and the tribal assemblies described by Tacitus. That the Vedic Samiti continued to function in a more or less modified form through the Mantiiparishad in the Hindu monarchical system is clear from many references in later Sanskrit literatures. Kauṭilya, for instance, speaks of such assemblies, the Mantiiparishad, which the king occasionally called along with the Mantins or the inner council of ministers. The Rigvedic Sabha, according to Ludwig, was a constant body of the Maghavans or the great men of the tribe.¹

B. SOCIAL CONDITION.

The advent of the Aryans is a notable event in the history of India. The bulk of the people of India belong to the Aryan stock. The Aryans soon spread their language, religion, and custom which provided the basis for the development of Hindu culture. The Aryans, however, had no easy task before them. Their advance into the country was doggedly resisted by the Dravidians. But due to their superior weapons and organization and also perhaps due to climatic reasons, they ultimately prevailed over the people of the soil who either submitted to the foreigners or retired in independence into the fastnesses of hills and depths of forests. Gradually, the Aryans, as a result of more intimate contact with the Dravidians, adopted many elements of their culture and civilisation in their order. The Hindu culture which was ultimately developed thus shows some Dravidian influence. At the same time the Tamil or Dravidian influence which still exists in the South was largely modified by Sanskrit culture and civilisation.

The Rigvedic Aryans lived in villages. The headman of the village (Grāmanī) represented the village in its relation to the

¹ Ludwig, Rig. Vol. II, p. 253.

broadest life of the kingdom or tribal territory. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the Vedic Aryans, as Agriculture and it is of their descendants even at the present time. They irrigated their fields by means of wells and canals. Horses were used for ploughing. Wheat and barley were the principal produce and rice seems to have been then unknown. Every considerable Aryan village had its artisans in those days as now. We have frequent mention in the Rik Samhitās of the construction of the carts and chariots, metal arms, ornaments of gold and silver, such as, necklaces, breast-plates, bracelets, anklets, and gold crowns. Metals were also used extensively for the manufacture of domestic utensils.

Caste distinction had not yet developed. The Rigvedic Aryans were still one united social body and bore the name of Viśah or the people. It was in the later Vedic period after the composition of the Brāhmaṇas and the consequent introduction of elaborate forms and ceremonies in worship that a new class of men, the Brāhmaṇas came into existence to perform the sacrificial worship according to the elaborate rules of the Brāhmaṇas. But in the Rigvedic age every householder was the priest of his family, gave offerings, and libation and recited the sacred hymns. Life was simple. People wore simple dresses and ate simple food which consisted of wheat, millet, pulse, vegetables, milk, ghee, curd and honey. Sacrificial meat and a kind of liquor called Soma occasionally formed part of the menu. Among their pastimes were chariot-racing, gambling at dice, music and dancing.

Woman was held in honour and respect. Unlike the other primitive societies, the Indo-Aryans held marriage as a sacred tie. Polygamy was unknown among the humble folk, and was generally confined to the royal and richer classes. The unhealthy custom of child marriage and the seclusion of women behind the pārdā were unknown. The name *Sabaddharminī* given to the wife of the householder testifies to her honoured position in society. The Hindu wife still retains that honoured name, but has lost the freedom enjoyed by her sister in the Vedic age,

The Position of
Woman.

partly due to the selfishness of man and partly due to many extraneous circumstances. Women in the Vedic age prepared the Soma libation and joined their husbands in sacrifices, whether private or public. The woman had a considerable authority in the family, as she has to-day, and took her share in the religious rites and worship and exerted a benign influence in the household. Female education was not neglected. There were learned ladies like Viśvavāīā, Lopāmudrā and Ghoshā, Sikatā Nivāvati, who even composed the mantas and rose to the rank of Rishis.⁴ From a long hymn, virtually one of marriage ritual, we get a glimpse of the position of the newly married woman in her husband's family:

The bridegroom says : "May the Lord of creatures bring children unto us; may Aryaman keep us united until old age. Enter auspiciously thy husband's home, O bride, and bring blessing to our men and our cattle".

"Bear sway, O bride, over thy father-in-law and thy mother-in-law; be as queen over thy husband's sister and thy husband's brothers." (Rig. X. 85, 43 and 46).

We find no sanction in the Rigveda of the custom of *sati*. Widows could remarry after the death of their husbands and girls when unmarried obtained a share of the paternal property.

C. RELIGIOUS CONDITION

By referring to the first, second and seventh mandalas of the Rigveda, we can form an idea of the kind of religion the Rigvedic Aryans had. It was the worship of nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The first Aryaman, in his child-like simplicity, looked upon the bright, the beautiful, the grand and terrible aspects of nature as so many gods with superhuman powers of doing good or evil to man. Hymns of both admiration and propitiation thus spontaneously poured forth from the lips of the sage-poets, and were chanted by the early Aryans in their sacrificial worship of the gods which were but different phenomena of nature. They (Nature-gods) received different names. Dyaus, the bright sky, which holds the sun, the moon, the stars, and the

⁴ Rig. I. 179, V. 28, VIII. 91, IX. 81, X. 39, 40.

clouds ; Pṛithvī (earth) that feeds the creation by yielding the crops, Agni (fire) which has the power to consume everything, Indra, the Lord of rain and thunder, the beautiful Ushas (dawn) which dispels gloom and brings light and life to all creation, were the deities of the Aryans. Of the goddess Ushas, a most popular deity among the Vedic Aryans, there are some very beautiful hymns; we give below the free translation of some of these hymns :

"With beautiful wealth for us drawn forth, O Ushas, daughter of heaven; with plenteous affluence . . O brilliant goddess thou liberal Ushas." (Rig. 1, 48, 1).

"Here comes Ushas, like a beautiful young damsel who is full of enjoyment." (Rig. 1, 48, 5).

"All creation bows to her manifestation as the fair one brings light. The rich daughter of Heaven draws away the hatted and draws away the godless enemies".

"Come hither Ushas, daughter of Heaven, and shine with delightful brightness, bringing unto us plenteous prosperity, and drawing at the horns of sacrifices." (Rig. 1, 48, 8.)

"Even the winged birds, Fair One, and the quadrupeds go forth from the confines of heaven to meet thee, O Ushas, at thy hour of arrival." (Rig. 1, 48, 6.)

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Indra, the god of rain and thunder is more frequently invoked, as being the most useful as also the most fearsome of the gods. His thunder which pierces the cloud to produce the rain also smites the evil-minded and the sinner. He is worshipped in admiration of his goodness and for propitiation of his wrath. His aid is invariably invoked to help the Āryaman to destroy the enemy. As illustration, we give below some hymns on Indra:

"India is our friend and ally with his powerful mace against our enemies." (Rig. 1, 7, 6).

"O, bestower of all our good, thou givest rain by piercing the clouds. Thou hast never refused our prayer." (Rig. 1, 7, 6).

"O, Indra, we are well-aimed because we are protected by thyself. We shall conquer the enemy with your help". (Rig. 1, 8, 3-4).

Varuna, the sky-god of righteousness, is another very important deity. The hymns addressed to him are sublime in thought and highly ethical in tone :

" O Varuna, with an anxious heart, I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men to make the enquiry ; the sages have all said to me, ' Varuna is displeased with thee.'

" O Varuna, for what deed of mine dost thou wish to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper ? O thou of irresistible power, declare it to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration to thee . . .

" O Varuna, deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our person. O royal Varuna, deliver Vasishtha-like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen-animal.

" O Varuna, all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray. Sin is begotten even in our dreams.

" Freed from sins, I will serve as a slave, the god Varuna, who fulfils our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant ; may the Arya god bestow on us knowledge. May the deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth." (Rig., VII. 86).

Among the deities are also found Aditi, the limitless light of the sky, Vāyu, the wind, and Maruts or the storm gods, etc.

The Rigvedic Aryans did not, however, rest content with simple nature worship. The evolution of the conception of God found in the Rigveda is unique for this reason. From a childlike admiration of the powerful thunder or the beautiful dawn, the Arya mind learns to distinguish between the smaller gods of Nature and the great Creator. The Rigvedic Aryans realised sooner than their western compatriots, the Greeks, the noble truth that God exists and that He is the Father and Creator of all creation in the universe. In some of the latest hymns of the Rigveda we get a glimpse of this sublime conception of the supreme Deity which found a clearer expression in the Upanishads. We quote below some hymns from the last (Xth) mandala of the Rigveda :

" The all-wise and all-seeing Father first created these worlds

in their form. Their ends were then firmly fastened and the sky and the earth were separated and extended.

"Great is the All-Creator; He creates all, He supports all, He presides over all. The blest obtain the fulfilment of their desires where the Being dwells beyond the constellation of the seven Rishis.

"The Father Who made us, Who knows the races and all things. He is one, being the same in many gods. Others wish to know Him." Rigveda X, 82.

¹ The author has followed Mr. R. C. Dutt's translation of the Vedic hymns quoted above.

II

THE LATER VEDIC PERIOD

The later Vedic period is the name given to the period when the three later Veda-Samhitās, namely, the Atharvaveda Samhitā, the Sāmaveda-Samhitā and the Yajurveda-Samhitā, as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads of all the four Vedas were composed, for it should be remembered that quite a long time elapsed between the composition of the Rigveda-Samhitā and the other three Veda-Samhitās. The composition of the Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda-Samhitā was about the same time as the Samhitās of the other three Vedas were composed. Not much time elapsed between the composition of the later Veda-Samhitās and their Brāhmaṇas. During this period, the centre of civilisation shifted from the Punjab to eastward. The picture of the Aryan society which we get from the above sources is different from the Rigvedic society as described in the last section.

During this period, the Aryans had moved from the Punjab to eastward and settled in the Madhyadeśa or the Majjhima-deśa of the Pāli literature, which included the Political condition whole of the region now known as the provinces of Delhi, the U.P., and Bihar. The Kurukshetra became the centre of the later Vedic and Brāhmaṇical culture which afterwards shifted to a new centre, Videha. The Kūrus and the Pañchālas, the Vasus and the Uśinoras now occupy the place previously held by the Rigvedic tribes. The existence of a number of famous cities whose names occur in the later Vedic literature testify to a more settled form of civilisation and economic prosperity of the Aryans. In this period the hereditary character of the monarchy is clearly apparent. In one case, that of the Śrīñjayas, we hear expressly of monarchy lasting for ten generations. The term Rājaputri along with Rājanya is often referred to. The small tribal organisations of the little kingdoms of the Rigvedic Aryans gave place to large kingdoms with capital cities and brilliant courts. Parikshita, a king of the Kūrus, was a great and good ruler whose reign according to a hymn of the Atharvaveda

ushered a golden age in which the people flourished exceedingly, granaries were filled to overflowing and the husbandmen held a choice of beverage.¹ His capital was Āśandivant, better known as Hastināpura of the epics. His eldest son, Janamejaya, is described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as a great conqueror who, we find in a later reference, held his court at Taxila and where the story of the great struggle of the Kurus and Pāndus was related to him by Vaiśampāyana. This fact is considered as an evidence that Janamejaya conquered the country of Madra or the Central Punjab.² Another Kuru King Śatānika Satiṣṭājita is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as a great king, who defeated Dhūrītāśhtia, the prince of Kāśī, and took away his sacrificial horse. The Kuru kings ruled in Hastināpura for a long time with great majesty and power until their capital was submerged by a flood of the Ganges. After the calamity, Nichakshu transferred the Kuru capital to Kauśāmbī where the Kuru kings ruled for a long time.³

After the fall of the Kurus as a great power, the political supremacy and the centre of cultural activity shifted from Kurukshtetra to Videha (North Bihar). In a passage in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa we find that while the Kuru princes are styled as Rājas, Janaka of Videha is styled as Samiāt.⁴ In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upanishad, he is called 'Samiāt'.⁵ This shows that the political life of the Aryans had undergone a complete change in the later Vedic period which more or less remained intact for ages to follow. With the growth of the king's power in this period, the king's entourage also increased.

The Taittiriya texts provide a list of great personages called Ratnins (jewels) who played an important part in the King's Officials. at the time of the king's consecration. They are the Puṇohita, the Rājanya, the Mahishi,

the Vāvātā (favourite wife), the Pañcikī (discarded

¹ CII, vol I, pp. 120-21; PIIAL, p. 10.

² Ib., pp. 23-25 cf. Mbh., XVIII, 5, 34.

³ For a list of the successors of Nichakshu see the author's *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, p. 35.

* ⁴ PIIAL, p. 30.

⁵ Ib.

wife), the Sūta, the Senāni, the Grāmanī, the Kshattri (Chamberlain), the Saṅgrahitī (Treasurer), the Bhāgadugha (Collector of taxes), the Akshavāpa (Superintendent of dicing.¹) . The Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa has also the 'huntsmen' and the courier, while the Maitrīyaṇī Samhitā adds Takshan and the Rathakāna. In the Parīchayinśa-Brāhmaṇa we find mention of eight 'Viras' or heroes equivalent to the ratnins of the Taittirīya texts. They are Mahishi, Sūta, Grāmanī, Kshattri, Saṅgrahitī, the Brother, Son and Purohita. Brother and son are lacking in the Taittirīya texts. The Sūta is higher in the list here. He is at once a herald and a minstrel and for this reason perhaps he is declared in one passage as inviolable. The Grāmanī in the Rigvedic period was a military officer. At this epoch he was both a military and civil official. He presided over the city or village where the court was held. The post was the summit of the ambition of the Vaiśyas. In later years the Grāmanī formed the channel through which the royal power was exercised in the village.²

The later Vedic literatures reflect a complete change in the social and religious life of the Aryans. Society became more complex. The worship of nature-gods and simple sacrifices by the head of the family in the Rigvedic period were now replaced by the elaborate ceremonial and ritualistic worships conducted by a special class of men who were known as Brāhmans. They were so-called because they learnt the minute rules of the sacrificial worship elaborated in the Brāhmaṇas according to which those sacrifices were to be conducted. Thus the sublime and simple worship of the Rigvedic Aryans was thrown into the background by the new forms of ceremonial worships in which the house-holders took only a vicarious part. This religious change also marked the beginning of the caste system which in the later Brāhmanic period tended to become hereditary. For the Brāhmans being in custody of the spiritual life of the people tried to retain their supreme position in society by giving

¹ Controller of gambling.

² CHI. vol. I. p. 131.

an authoritative explanation of their divine origin and introducing Śāstric injunctions to maintain their exclusiveness from the rest of the Aryans. Thus the later Vedic Aryan society was divided into three distinct classes of men, the Brāhmans or the priests, Kshatriyas or the governing and fighting class, and the Vaishyas which included the rest of the Aryans occupied in other spheres of activity. Besides, there was a fourth class of people composed mostly of the non-Aryan conquered tribes whom the Aryans called Śūdras. They were the Dāsas in the Rigvedic times.

But while the Brāhmans were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those highest questions which were more clearly treated Āranyakas and in the Upanishads. Sects like the forest-Upanishads,

hermits and wandering ascetics more or less opposed to Brāhmaṇism propagated the doctrines which were opposed to the mere sacrificial worships. The doctrines and philosophy of these forest-hermits are called Āranyakas. They are either appended to some of the latest Brāhmaṇas or form part of the oldest Upanishads. For instance, in the great Śatapatha-Brahmana, the first third of the Book XIV is an Āranya, while the end of the book contains one of the greatest and the most important of Upanishads—the Brīhadāraṇyaka-Upanishad. Both Āranyakas and Upanishads form the last part of the Vedas and are classed into one group from the nature of their subject. What the forest hermits hinted at, the Upanishadic philosophers gave a clear and full exposition of, and that is to raise Hindu religious thought to a higher plane than the barren sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇas. The Upanishads gave an intellectual conception of God. "The universe is the Brahman but the Brahman is the Ātman. The Brahman is the power which manifests itself in all existing things, creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds. This infinite divine power is identical with Ātman, that which after stripping off everything external, we discern in ourselves as our real and most essential being, our individual

¹ CII, vol. I, p. 131.

self, the soul."¹ This conception of God and the relation between God and soul is a valuable contribution of the Hindu Upanishads to the spiritual thought of the world which was the basis of the later-day Vedāntic philosophy. The age of the Upanishads is marked by two things : Firstly it witnessed a revolt against the formalism and exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇical system — both against sectarianism and sacrificial worships. Secondly, the doctrine of the Upanishads marked a reaction against the superiority of the priestly class, and upheld the equality of the Kshatriyas with the Brāhmans. The two religious movements — Jainism and Buddhism which were led by the Kshatriyas were the outcome of that reaction. In modern times, the Brāhma Samāja movement and, to some extent, the Ārya Samāja movement drew their inspiration from the Upanishads and the Rigveda-Samhitā, keeping clear of the degraded Brāhmaṇism. Secondly it marks the recovery of the lost position of women who had fallen into insignificance, even contempt, in the Smṛiti period. In the Upanishads, we find women such as Gātgi and Maitreyī taking an equal and intelligent part with men in the philosophic discussions.

The stories of the great epics are too well-known to be recounted here. The form in which we find these two epics now

The Epics. is the result of additions from time to time in their several recensions. The latest recension

of the Rāmāyaṇa in the form in which we find it to-day was about 200 A.D., and that of the Mahābhārata about the same time or slightly later. The earliest date of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa is considered to be 200 or 300 B.C. and that of the Mahābhārata still earlier.² But both the epics speak

¹ Winternitz (vol. I, p. 250.) quoted from Deussen's Philosophy of the Upanishads, translated by A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 39.

² According to Winternitz the original epic Mahābhārata probably began in the 4th century B.C., and its transformation into the present compilation took place gradually by continuous additions until the end of the 4th century A.D., and the original Rāmāyaṇa was probably composed in the 3rd century B.C. by Vālmiki. Both the epics were composed on the basis of ancient ballads. (Cf. Winternitz, vol. I, pp. 454 and 475 and pp. 500—517).

of the time much earlier than the time of their earliest composition. The origin of the great epics lies in the gāthās or ballads of heroes, and of heroic events sung by bards in courts, on the occasions of religious sacrifices or great feasts. In remnants and fragments, some of them (these heroic songs) have been preserved in our two epics. For instance, the historical event of the great battle of Kurukshetra which is approximately dated between 1000 to 2000 B.C.¹ and which forms the central theme of the story of Mahābhārata must have been perpetuated in the ballads of the bards for scores of generations.

The epics introduce us to conditions considerably different from those in the Vedic periods, in the political, social and religious life of the Hindus. The Aryans had spread further eastward and such kingdoms as Magadha and Anga, not mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, are mentioned here. The political horizon grew larger than hitherto seen, and the ideal of universal dominion was there. The ideal of 'Samrāṭ' and 'Sāmṛāya' of which we saw references in the Brāhmaṇas received a more concrete shape in the epic literature. The title of Samrāṭ was claimed by those rulers who could bring under subjection a number of smaller rulers called merely 'rājāns'. *Dīgrījaya* or the conquest of the quarter was the symbol of political supremacy, although it may not always have been accompanied with actual annexation of territories. It was enough if the conquered rājās acknowledged his supremacy. The assumption of the title of Samrāṭ was usually emphasised by the performance of the rājasūya or asvamedha sacrifices. The dependent king generally attended these ceremonies as feudal vassals and helped the Samrāṭ in his wars. Thus feudalism became fairly an established institution which remained to be an important factor in the Indian political state in the early and mediaeval India. The succession to the throne was hereditary and the eldest son as a rule succeeded to the throne. Exceptions were made in case the eldest son had any physical or mental defect. For instance, Dhṛitarāshṭra being born blind, the younger son Pāndu became king.

¹ Pargiter, AIIIT pp. 179—83; Pradhan, CAI pp. 268—69.

The caste system had become more definitely established. The supremacy of the Brāhmans which was assailed in the Upanishads was re-established. A *samrāṭ* or a *rājā* had always a Brāhman minister who advised and guided the king. Sometimes, the Brāhman minister was also his spiritual *guru*. Everybody from prince to peasant was afraid of offending a Brāhman whose fire of wrath was capable of burning the offender to ashes. Probably the potency of this fire was much diminished by the time the laws of Manu were codified, for in them very heavy punishment such as burning alive is prescribed for offending a Brāhmaṇa, perhaps to make up for the loss of the power of his own fire to kill!

The position of women marked a slight deterioration from the Vedic age. Polygamy was almost a common affair among the royal and rich classes. The custom of *sati* of which we find no mention in the Vedic literature is seen practised here. The peculiar custom of polygamy, evidently a Mongolian custom, still observed by some tribes in Tibet and Indian borders of the Himalayan region, was introduced by the compilers of the Mahābhārata to explain certain episodes of the central story of the great epic, or as Dr. Winternitz remarks, 'to faithfully presume an old feature of the legend.'¹ An interesting form of marriage mentioned in the epics is *svayambrā* or self-choice of a husband by a princess from among the assembled suitors. That skill in archery was highly esteemed in epic society is proved by the fact that the successful suitor had to prove his superiority over others in this sport.

New gods arose in this period which superseded the Vedic gods. The nature-gods of the Vedas took a subordinate position to the new gods and goddesses—Brahmā, Vishnu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Pārvatī. The doctrine of Karma and rebirth as well as the practice of *tapasyā* or meditation accompanied by physical tortures (severe asceticism) were prevalent in epic society.

¹ Winternitz, vol. I, p. 337.

CHAPTER III

THE CASTE SYSTEM, ITS ORIGIN AND EVILS¹

At first the Aryans lived as one homogeneous people. We have seen that in the Rigvedic Age, there were only two classes of people in society—the Aryans and Non-Aryans. We have seen how in the later Vedic Age, a new class of men arose called Brāhmans whose duty was to perform the sacrificial worship according to the elaborate rules of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmans and the priests were one and the same class, Brahmins. They being in custody of the spiritual work of society, their work was one of assiduous study to master the vastly elaborate rules and rituals of sacrificial worship and also of purity of conduct. Naturally, they acquired a position of lofty aloofness from the rest of the Aryan society who were more or less engrossed in mundane affairs. A distinction being thus made with regard to one class of work in society, distinctions in other spheres of work soon made their appearance and obtained places in society according to the nature and importance of the work. Next to the spiritual work, was the work of fighting and government, and those who did this work were known as Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. The rest of the Aryans, engaged in odd jobs, e.g., trade and agriculture etc., were called the Vaiśyas who obtained a lower position than that of the Kshatriyas. The fourth class of men who filled the Hindu society were called Sūdras whose duty was to serve the other three classes. The Sūdras were composed of aborigines of the land and being incorporated in the Hindu society occupied the lowest position.

¹ For further study of this subject see the author's Paper on the 'Origin and Development of the Caste System in India' [Indian Culture, Vol. XII, No. 4, 1946, pp. 177—191.]

This is the historical origin of the caste system which was in the beginning, as shown above, based on a division of labour. There was nothing wrong there, the division having been based on a scientific and rational ground. The wrong began when the division became hereditary on account of the selfishness of the priestly class who gave a fantastic and supernatural explanation of their origin and interpreted Sāstück injunctions to perpetuate the hereditary superiority of their class. Rules were laid down in the Sūtras, a class of later Brāhmaṇic literature, that nobody could serve as a priest who was not born a Brāhmaṇ. In the early stages of hereditary caste, however, inter-marrriages between the three upper castes took place. Even marriages of the upper caste with the Śūdras, though looked upon with disfavour, were not positively forbidden. *strīratnām dushkuṇḍadapu¹* was the *exceptio probat regulum*, permitting marriages of this nature. But with the progress of time, the rigidity of caste rules was hardened and the castes became totally exclusive of one another forbidding inter-marrriages and inter-dining even among the three upper castes.

The number of castes did not remain four. With the growth of the complexity of society and the division of labour getting finer and finer, castes multiplied and out of them many sub-castes grew up with distinct divisions of work in society. The same distinctions and stiffness which marked the relations between the original four castes obtained in the later stages among the new castes and sub-castes.

The result is that, to-day, the Hindu society is literally split up into hundreds of hereditary castes and sub-castes maintaining social exclusiveness from one another. This is a

Evils of the caste system very important cause of disunion and the consequent weakness in Hindu society. The pity is that

although the division of work is not and cannot be strictly followed under the present-day conditions, the castes remain hidebound hereditary folds. For example, a Brāhmaṇ may run a shoe-shop and a washerman may work as a school master,

¹ A jewel of a bride even of a low caste.

yet the former will not take water in the latter's hands. In the eyes of the upper castes, a large number of lower castes and subjects are 'depressed'. Besides, those of the Hindu fold who are engaged as scavengers and skinners of dead animals are untouchables, and no amount of washing will make them clean, worthy to be touched at any time and by any member of the higher caste or sub-caste. A mother works as a *Bhangi* (sweeper) for her children and a nurse acts as a *Bhangi* for her patient to keep the bed clean, and yet the hereditary *Bhangis* born as such who keep the whole society clean and sanitary are looked down upon, and because they are treated as untouchables and are not allowed to enter even a temple of god, they have lost the necessary impulse to cleanliness. For this then degradation the caste Hindus are responsible. This is an evil which is eating into the vitals of Hindu society. Political freedom has no meaning as long as this form of social tyranny exists.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS : JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

The sixth century B.C. was marked by two great religious movements in India, Jainism and Buddhism. Both these are reformation movements to purify Hinduism of some of its evils which had greatly degenerated it. Like Luther and Calvin, Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha protested against the corruptions that had crept into Hinduism. Jainism and Buddhism are thus protestant Hinduism as Lutheranism and Calvinism are Protestant Christianity.

The genesis of these two religious movements lay in the doctrines of the Upanishads. We have seen how in the later Vedic period when the cult of Brāhmaṇism was firmly established, priesthood was predominant, elaborate rituals and bloody sacrifices took the place of religion, there was a revolt against them, the first signs of which appeared in the Āśanyakas and in the Upanishads. Both Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha drew their inspiration from the teachings of the Upanishads in starting their protestant movements and both of them belonged to the Kshatriya caste.

JAINISM

Life of Mahavira. Mahāvīra, the founder of the Jaina movement was born in Kundagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī¹ about 540 B.C. The village probably now survives under the name of Basu-kunda. In that village lived a wealthy nobleman Siddhārtha, head of the Kshatriya clan called the Jñātikas. Siddhārtha was married to the princess Trīśalā, sister of Chetaka, the most eminent of the Licchhavi prince and ruler of Vaiśālī. To them was born Vardhamāna, the future Mahāvīra. King Bimbisāra of Magadha had married Chellānā, the daughter of Chetaka. Thus Mahāvīra was related through

¹ Basarh, Modern Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

his mother's people, the powerful Lichchhavis, with the eminent ruling dynasty of Magadha.

Mahāvīra received education in all branches of study and was married to Yaśodā, had by her a daughter who became the wife of Jāmāli, a future disciple of Mahāvīra and the leader of the first schism of the Jaina Church. In his thirtieth year, on the death of his parents, Vardhamāna left his home and became an ascetic. He led a life of the harshest asceticism, physical pain and self-mortification. The following passage quoted from a short religious ballad in the *Āchārāṅga-sutta* reveals in a graphic manner the depth of self-mortification undergone by Mahāvīra to reach the goal of salvation and which has a close bearing on the entire ethics of Jainism he preached to his followers :

"He wandered naked and homeless. People struck him and mocked at him—unconcerned, he continued in his meditations. In Lāḍha the inhabitants persecuted him and set the dogs on him. They beat him with sticks and with their feet, and threw fruits, clods of earth and potsherds on him. They disturbed him in his meditations by all sorts of torments. But like a hero in the fore-front of the battle Mahāvīra withstood it all. Whether he was wounded or not, he never sought medical aid. He took no kind of medicaments, he never washed, did not bathe and never cleaned his teeth. In winter he meditated in the shade, in the heat of summer he seated himself in the scorching sun. Often he drank no water for months. Sometimes he took only every sixth, eighth, tenth or twelfth meal, and pursued his meditations without craving."¹

During one of his visits to Nālandā he made the acquaintance of the ascetic Gosāla Makkhaliputta, who attached himself to Mahāvīra for some years, but left him after six years to set up a religious order, calling himself a Tīrthakara. His followers were known as Ājivikas. This happened two years before Mahāvīra had reached his perfect enlightenment which he did in the thirteenth year of his asceticism at the age of forty-two. At this supreme knowledge and the consequent final deliverance sign pleasure

¹ Translated by Jacobi (S.B.E., vol. 22. p. 70 ff.)

and pain he became known as Mahāvīra or Jina (the conqueror) and his followers became known as Nirgranthas, i.e., free from fetters. The name Nirgranthas has now been superseded by the term Jainas.

Mahāvīra preached his religion for 30 years, and died at Pāvā near Rājagṛīha, at the age of 72 about 467 or 468 B.C.¹ He was thus a younger contemporary of Gautama Buddha and survived him by several years. Like Gautama Buddha Mahāvīra moved from place to place on his preaching tours. We know from the *Kalpa Sūtra* that he spent his rainy seasons at Chāmpā, Mithilā, Śrāvasti, Vaiśālī and Rājagṛīha. He frequently met with Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru with whom he was related. It is said that Buddha's close disciple Upāli was at first a Jaina and a resident of Rājagṛīha.

The teachings of Mahāvīra may be summed up as follows: Salvation may be obtained by freeing the soul from earthly bondage.

This can be done by means of 'right faith', His teachings. 'right knowledge', and 'right action'—called the three jewels of Jainism. A man has a two-fold nature, earthly and spiritual; the former is perishable, the latter eternal and evolutionary. Good and bad deeds have their effects on a man's rebirth and ultimate salvation. Ahimsā or non-injury to animal life is the first principle of practical morality. The worship of the twenty-four Tīthakaras² or Jinas, of whom Vaidhamāna Mahāvīra was the latest, is a predominant feature of Jainism. It objects to the infallibility of the Vedas and condemns Brāhmaṇic practice of bloody sacrifices.

¹ Jacobi, *the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 6f; Chaperier, CHI vol. I, p. 156.

² According to the hagiology of the Jainas, there are 24 Tīthakaras or 'preparers of the path,' also called victors or Jinas of whom Rishabha was the first and Mahāvīra the last. In order of succession they were Rishava, Agita, Sambhava, Avinandana, Sumati, Padmaprabhu, Supārśva, Chandraprabhu, Pushpadhara, Śitala, Śieṇīsa, Basupūjā, Vīnala, Ananta, Dhairma, Tandi, Kundu, Ava, Mallī, Maṇisubrata, Nami, Nemī, Pārvanātha, Mahāvīra.

Jainism has thus so much in common with Buddhism that for a long time it was considered a part of Buddhism. But

on a closer examination a marked divergence between the two faiths in essential points may be found. Buddha at first sought freedom from

Jainism and Buddhism compared.

karma and rebirth in extreme self-torture; but he soon found, as we shall see later, that this was not the way to peace and consequently he did not enforce upon his followers the practice of extreme self-penance, but advised them to follow a middle-path—a simple life free from self-torture on the one hand, and luxury and self-indulgence on the other.¹ Mahāvīra, on the other hand, found his Enlightenment in the midst of his severest asceticism and, therefore, did not hesitate to recommend nakedness, self-torture, and death by starvation as the surest means of reaching final annihilation. Both systems of faith advocate asceticism, but Jainism lays far more stress on it and all manner of cult-exercises. In Jainism as in Buddhism the goal of the ascetic is to make an end of pain, and as evil karma produces pain, the Jaina ascetic aims at exhausting all karma. Buddhism aims not at neutralising what has been done, but at destroying the vicious impulses that produce bad karma. No one but a Buddha can know how much unopened karma remains, but the question is unnecessary, for rebirth stops with the extinction of the cause of rebirth, the craving for existence. The Jaina disciples make the claim of omniscience for their teacher and it is put in the form in which Buddha disclaimed it. The Jaina Sūtras² declare that Mahāvīra was 'all knowing, perceiving all things, he knew all beings of the universe, with all the gods, men and rebel gods; namely their coming, going, abiding, passing away, rebirth, the talk, conversation, and thoughts, of all things, of all living beings in the universe. In contrast to Buddha, Mahāvīra taught a very elaborate belief in soul. The Jainas emphasise the commandment of Ahimsā far more than even Buddhism. Jainism has always remained a national Indian rel-

¹ Cf. *Dharma Chakra Pavattana Sutta*. See *infra* p. 53.

² Cf. The *Āchārāṅga-sūtra*, pp. 15, 26.

gion, whilst Buddhism developed into a world religion, being an actively missionary faith.

Mahāvīra undoubtedly received support from his royal relations—Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha in successfully founding the Jaina Church. His severe asceticism The Jaina Church^{*} which has always been an attraction for Indian and Canon,

minds and his simple doctrines attracted followers. Of his eleven close disciples, or apostles known as Ganadhara or 'Heads of Schools' only one, Ārya Sudharman survived him and became the Pontiff of the Jaina Church after the master's death. Nothing is known concerning the fortunes of the Jaina Church for about 150 years. According to the Jaina traditions Udayin, the successor of Ajātaśatru, was a devoted Jaina. The Nandas were also probably Jaina as the Jaina books do not calumniate them. There is also the evidence of the Hāthigumpha inscription which records that King Kharavela of Kalinga recovered the idol of the first Jina which the 'Nanda Rāja' had taken away from Kaliṅga. Chandragupta Maurya, a Brahmanic Hindu throughout his reign, probably became a Jaina about the end of his life. A Jaina tradition associates Chandragupta with the Jaina pontiff Bhadrabāhu with whom he had retired to the South to take up asceticism according to Jaina rules, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son. A late inscription (C. 900 A.D.) records that the summit of the Chandragiri (Mysore) is marked by the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta Muniपति.

For certain facts *i.e.* the history of the Jaina Church from its inception to the fourth or third century B.C we are indebted to the

The Jaina Kalpa-sūtra of Bhadrabāhu who was the sixth *thera* after Mahāvīra and was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. He is said to have died 170 years after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*. Three different sections form the entire book, but it is doubtful if Bhadrabāhu is the author of all three. Section I contains the Jinacharita or the biographies of the Jinas. In it we get the names of all the

¹ Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. I, p. 34.

twenty-three Jinas or Tirthakaras who preceded Mahāvīra, of whom Pārvanātha, the penultimate one, is said to have laid the foundations upon which Mahāvīra, who followed him about 250 years after, built up the Jaina Church. The main portion of the section is the biography of Mahāvīra, which is told in great detail. Section II. of the Kalpa-sūtra consists of the Therāvali, a list of schools (ganas) and their heads (gaṇadhaṭas). The list goes far beyond Bhadrabāhu, hence could not possibly have been written by him. Section III contains the Sāmāchāri or the Rules for the ascetics. Sudharman, the first *thera* died 20 years after his Master. His successor was Jambu who held the office for 44 years. After him passed three generations of pontiffs, and at the time of the last Nanda, the Jaina Church was ruled by two theras, Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Kalpa-sūtra.

These two were the last of the theras who perfected the 14 Pūrvas (Sansk. Pūrvas), i.e., the texts of the old Jaina scriptures

The first Jaina Council at Pataliputra: The Great Schism C. 300 B.C. which Mahāvīra himself had taught to his Gaṇadhaṭas Sambhūtavijaya is said to have died in the same year in which Chandragupta took possession of the throne. About that time a great famine

lasting for 12 years devastated the region of Bengal. Bhadrabāhu seeing that this evil would promote numerous offences against the ecclesiastical rules escaped to Kārnāṭa with his followers. Many Jainas remained in Magadha under Sthūlabhadra, a disciple of Sambhūtavijaya. After the famine the disciples of Bhadrabāhu returned, but the teacher himself went to Nepal where he died of penance. The monks who remained in Magadha convoked in the meantime a great council at Pātaliputra about 300 B.C. in order to collect and revise the scriptures. But since the Pūrvas or the older texts were known perfectly by Bhadrabāhu, Sthūlabhadra, who had gone to Bhadrabāhu in Nepal, was instructed on only ten Pūrvas, the canon established at Pātaliputra was a fragmentary one, and in it, to some extent, new scriptures took the place of the old. In the council the Jaina scripture emerged in the form of 12 Āṅgas or "Limbs" out of the original 14 Pūrvas. When the followers of Bhadrabāhu returned to Magadha, there was a great gulf made between those who

had emigrated and those who stayed at home. The latter had grown accustomed to wearing white garments, whereas, the former, strictly following the teachings of Mahāvīra, still persisted in going naked. This is how the first schism came about which split the Jaina Church into the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, the earlier schism, referred to above (p. 45) and led by Mahāvīra's own son-in-law Jamāli being a minor one. The Digambaras refused to acknowledge the canon as it emerged in the council, holding that the 14 Pūras were lost.

In the course of time, the canon of the Śvetāmbaras was reduced to a state of disorder, and was even in danger

of being lost altogether. Hence, in the year 980 after the death of Mahāvīra (i.e., about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.), a Council
The Second Jaina Council at Valabhi C. 512 A.D. was held at Valabhī in Gujarat, presided over by Devardhi Kshamāśramana, a Ganadhara, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The twelfth Āṅga had already gone astray at that time. This is why we find only eleven Āṅgas in the recension which has come down to us.

Unlike Buddhism, Jainism took deep roots in the soil of India, though it never attempted to spread its doctrines in and out of the country by an intense missionary influence of Jainism activity like Buddhism. During the Maurya rule, Jainism lost the royal patronage of Magadha kings which it had hitherto enjoyed from the beginning. During that period, however, Jainism spread to western and southern India. Ujjain and Mathurā became the stronghold of Jainism. The large number of Jaina inscriptions found at Mathurā proves that it was a great centre of Jainism. A legend connects Ujjain as an equally great centre of the faith as early as the first century B.C. We find in the legend that Jaina saint Kālakāchāriya was insulted by king Gaṇdabhilla of Ujjain, who, according to various traditions, was the father of the traditional Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era. The insulted Jaina saint Kālaka went in his desire for revenge to the land of the Śakas, whose king was styled Sāhānusāhi (King of Kings), a title borne

in Greek and Indian forms by the Śaka rulers of the Punjab in the first century B.C., and by the Kushāṇa rulers of about the same period whose coins bear the title of *Shaonano shao*.¹ Kālaka persuaded a number of Śaka satraps to invade Ujjain and overthrow the dynasty of Gaṅdhāravikā. Some years later, his valiant son Vikramāditya recovered the throne of his ancestors. The legend contains the tradition of Śaka dominion in Western India which is a fact, and of the foundation of the Vikrama era (58 B.C.) which Vikramāditya probably inaugurated to celebrate his great victory over the Śakas. The fact of the use of the Vikrama era by the Jainas in the country of Mālwā, of which Ujjain was the capital, lends support to the close relation between the legend and the foundation of the era.² While Buddhism has almost disappeared from India, Jainism still flourishes in several parts of the country. It has been comparatively free from the hostility of rival faiths because of its non-missionary spirit. Among other reasons why it escaped destruction is its orthodoxy and its affinity to Brāhmaṇism in some respects. All parts of India to-day contain in more or less number the followers of Jainism, but the more important centres of the faith are Mathurā, Mālwā, Gujarat, Rājputāna and some districts of the South. The Jainas are a rich and prosperous community. Their temples display the wealth of the community in their rich and costly decorations. Hundreds of commodious Dharmashālās in all big cities and sacred places of India, schools and colleges, hospitals for men and beasts and many other charitable institutions testify to their munificent spirit.

BUDDHISM

But the movement which gave the greatest shock to Brāhmaṇism was started by Gautama Buddha. He was also a Kshatriya prince. His father was Suddhodana, the chief of the Śākyā republican clan of Kapilavastu. His mother was Māyā, a princess of the

¹ Cf. *Dawaputra shābi shābānu shābi* of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, applied to the Kushāṇa emperor.

The modern form of the title is Shāhān Shāh.

² Prof. Rapson, however, argues [C.H.I. vol. I, p. 571 and p. 581] that Azes is the founder of the era.

neighbouring clan of the Koliyas. He was born c. 567 B.C.¹ in the village of Lumbini, a few miles from Kapilavastu, and which was perhaps used at that time as a suburban pleasure by the rulers of Kapilavastu. The sacred memory of his birth has been perpetuated by a beautiful monolithic pillar containing an inscription set up by Asoka in c. 249 B.C. His mother having died a few days after his birth, he was brought up by his step-mother Mahāmāyā.

¹ There is a divergence of opinion as to the date of Buddha's death. One school holds c. 483 B.C., but I hold B.C. 487, as the year of the Parinirvāna on the grounds stated below :

The 'Canton Records' reveal 975 dots up to A.D. 489, supposed to have been started from the year of Parinirvāna, or at most one year after the great event. In the latter case one more dot is to be added to 975. In either case the date of the Parinirvāna comes to (975—489) 486 or (975+1—489) 487 B.C. The date (487 B.C.) agrees well with other independent evidences. Chandragupta's accession to the throne must have taken place sometime after the death of Alexander and the First Partition Treaty of Babylon in 323 B.C. and the Second Partition Treaty of Triparadisus in 321 B.C., in which there is hardly any mention of the Greek possessions West of the Indus. Justin [XV., 4] gives prominence to Sandrocottus as the genius 'under whose leadership the Indians threw off the last remnants of the Macedonian yoke'. This act of driving the Greeks beyond the Indus must have taken at least a year after he ascended the imperial throne and possessed himself of the wealth and the grand army left by the Nandas. Therefore his accession may be reasonably placed in c. 322 B.C. According to the Purāṇas he reigned for 24 years and his son Bindusara reigned for 25 years. Therefore Asoka ascended the throne in c. 273 B.C. According to a passage in the Ceylonese chronicles four years elapsed between Asoka's accession and coronation. Therefore Asoka's coronation took place in c. 269 B.C.—a date which also agrees with another passage of the chronicles stating that Asoka's consecration took place 218 years after the Parinirvāna. This places the date of the Buddha's parinirvāna in c. [269+218] 487 B.C. It cannot be placed at any date after 486 B.C. on the basis of the Canton record even if the suggested reason for the absence of a dot is not accepted. All scholars have agreed to accept the traditional testimony as recorded in the Buddhist canonical books that the Buddha lived for 80 years. This brings the date of his birth to [486 or 487+80] c. 566 or 567 B.C.

From his boyhood, prince Siddhātha, by which name he was called, showed signs of a contemplative turn of mind, and a deep compassionate nature. One day when his cousin Devadatta shot down a swan, the prince took possession of the wounded bird and claimed it as his own. "By what right do you claim it? It is mine by the laws of game", exclaimed Devadatta in wrath. "By the right of love and mercy—the highest of all rights, do I claim it," coolly replied the future Buddha, even though he was a mere lad in his teens.

Noticing in his son a great indifference to worldliness, the king married him to a beautiful and accomplished daughter of a Śākyā noble and surrounded the young prince and his wife Yaśodharā with the choicest material of luxury and pleasure. But nothing could make him happy. The cause of his unhappiness was his realisation of the sufferings of mankind due to old age, disease and death. So one day he left his home and everything behind and chose the life of a Sannyāsi to find a remedy for the ills of suffering humanity. This departure is known as the Great Renunciation which he accepted at the age of twenty-nine. He first became a disciple of a learned Brāhmaṇ and became learned in the Śāstras and philosophy but found no satisfaction. He then led the life of an ascetic and practised the severest of penances which also failed to satisfy him. In this way he spent six years in fruitless efforts at finding the Truth. Then he sat in deep contemplation under a peepal tree near Gayā and found the Truth, the means of salvation from human sufferings. Since then he became known as the Buddha or the Enlightened at the age of thirty-five. The tree henceforth became known as Bodhi tree. He first repaired to the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares where he set the 'Wheel of Law' in motion or gave his first religious discourse, as a result of which five disciples joined him. This small beginning formed the nucleus of the great Buddhist Church or Order. For forty five years did the Buddha preach to the princes and peasants of India his message of salvation before he died at Kuśināra in the district of Gorakhpur at the age of eighty in c. 487 B.C.

The philosophy of Buddhism is intensely rational. The first sermon of the Buddha which is embodied in the *Dhamma Chakka Pabattana Sutta* clearly states the essential doctrines of Buddhism. The four great Truths are: (1) Sorrow, (2) The Cause of Sorrow; (3) The Remedy for Sorrow, and (4) The Path. Life is full of sorrow namely, old age, disease and death. The cause of this sorrow is birth which is again caused by desire for earthly things and material enjoyments which are incapable of satisfaction and therefore lead the individual from birth to rebirth. The cessation of this desire will remove the cause of this sorrow namely birth. This cessation of the desire can be achieved by following the Path which is the *Arya Ashtāngamārga* or the noble eight-fold path, namely (1) Right faith, (2) Right thought, (3) Right action, (4) Right speech, (5) Right means of livelihood, (6) Right endeavour, (7) Right remembrance, and (8) Right meditation. This path is the Middle Path avoiding the two extremes, viz., sensuality on the one side, and extreme asceticism on the other.

Thus the philosophy of Buddhism is intensely rationalistic. It believes in the law of karma and rebirth. That is, a man reaps the consequences of his own actions in the previous existence. The cause of human suffering is birth and it is within the power of man to get rid of rebirth and the consequent suffering. The Buddhist *Nirvāna* is the release from rebirth. It does not formally deny the existence of God, but does not mention Him as a necessary factor for the attainment of Nirvāna. Thus it lays an emphasis on the individual exertion at self-improvement and on moral actions as a means to attain it. Ahimsā or abstaining from killing, respect for animal life, truthfulness, reverence to superiors, service to humanity to relieve sufferings of all kinds etc., are some of the positive actions of practical morality of Buddhism. Contrary to the beliefs of the existing Brāhmaṇism it rejects the infallibility of the *Vedas*, condemns the animal sacrifices and the elaborate and meaningless ceremonies in worships, rejects the superiority of the Brāhmans and the caste system.

Buddhism at once appealed to the masses as a welcome relief from the priest-ridden and caste-ridden Brāhmaṇism. The magnetic personality of the Buddha worked as a touch-stone for all who came into his contact. The impeccable logic with which he met the arguments of the learned orthodox Brāhmaṇs, and the deep human feeling which inspired his discourses convinced priests, princes and poor people alike. By freeing religion of all elaborate and costly ceremonials, he made it accessible to the poor, and laying stress on practical morality, he made the life of the community healthier and happier. Religion which was more or less vicarious under the Brāhmanic cult became intensely personal and reflected in day-to-day conduct of life. By abolishing caste distinctions, he raised the status of the lower orders who in accepting Buddhism obtained their social and spiritual freedom. All these account for the rapid rise of Buddhism which the time-spirit demanded as a cure for the evils in Hindu society arising out of a degenerate Brāhmanic cult, and the Buddha had the satisfaction to see before he passed away that the people and princes of such powerful kingdoms as Magadha, Kośala and Kausāmbī and those of the republican states of the Sākyas, the Vajjis, the Mallas etc., accepted Buddhism, and the whole of Middle India or Majjhimadesa as it was then called, was dotted with the Buddhist monasteries and Vihāras. After his death the highly organised Buddhist Samgha consisting of zealous and selfless monks and nuns carried on the work of propagation efficiently and successfully. Then the patronage of the great emperor Aśoka who made it the state religion still more contributed to its success in India and its diffusion abroad.

In addition to the great teacher and the doctrine of Buddhism there is a third factor of equal importance. It is the Samgha or the Buddhist Church. The three together form the Buddhist Holy Trinity to which the Buddhists pay equal reverence in their daily prayers :

- 'I seek refuge in the Buddha.'
- 'I seek refuge in the Dhamma.'
- 'I seek refuge in the Saṅgha.'

The Buddha organised the Church in a systematic way and laid down rules for the conduct of its members. Membership was open to all persons, male or female, above fifteen years of age. There was no caste restriction. The rules of admission were as follows : a candidate for admission to the Saṅgha had to attach himself to a monk who after giving him certain preliminary training was to present him to an assembly of monks and make a formal proposal for admitting him to the Church. The permission being given, he was to be ordained as a monk who henceforth led a life of poverty and chastity and devotion. One of the primary causes of the rapid progress of Buddhism was the devoted and selfless service of the monastic Order. The lay Buddhists, of course, led the life of householders and financially contributed to the maintenance of the monastic Order, as it is even now done in Burma. The government of the church was primarily in the hands of local Saṅghas. The ultimate authority was in the hands of the general council which was convoked whenever any occasion arose.

Four such general councils of the Buddhist church were held. The first general council was held a few weeks after the demise

C. 487 A.D. of the Buddha.

General Councils. F. The teachings of the Buddha were collated, classified and adopted as authoritative canonical texts by an assembly of five hundred monks representing different local Saṅghas. The division of the

First General Council at Rajagṛīha c. 487. The teachings of the Buddha into two Piṭakas—Vinaya and Dhamma dealing with the discipline

of the monks and the doctrine respectively was made in the first general council. The president of the council was Mahākassapa. Upāli and Ānanda, both attendants and close disciples of the Buddha, were the authorities for the Vinaya and Dhamma Sūtras respectively.

One hundred years after the parinirvāna, the monks of Vaishāli adopted certain practices which were contrary to the rules of

¹ Vin. ya—Chullavagga XI, Dipavīraṇa IV,

Vinaya. This necessitated the convocation of the second general council of the Church which was Second General Council at Vaisali attended by the monks from all parts of c. 387 B.C.: The India.¹ The Vaisālī monks stuck to their views, first Schism, and the council having failed to settle the dispute, a great schism of the Buddhist church was the result. Those who held to the orthodox Vinaya were called Sthaviras while the pro-changers became known as Mahāsāṃghikas.

The third general council was held at Pātaliputra in the reign of the Emperor Aśoka. It was held, according to the Ceylonese traditions, 236 years after Buddha's death. Third General Council c. 251 B.C. and was presided over by the learned monk The Tripitaka : Moggaliputta Tissa. The council accomplished Attepmnt at Unity. two important results: firstly it made a new classification of the Buddhist canonical texts by the addition of a third pitaka called the Abhidhamma Pitaka which contained the philosophical interpretations of the doctrines of the existing two pitakas, especially of the Sutta or Dhamma Pitaka². The result was that the sayings and discourses of the Buddha now came to be known as the Tripitaka. Secondly, the canonical literature was definitely and authoritatively settled so as to eliminate all disruptive tendencies, making all schisms within the church punishable. In consonance with the authorized text of the Canon as definitely settled in the council, Aśoka issued the edicts against schisms³.

¹ Vinaya -Chullavagga X. S.B.E. Vol. XX, p. 409 ff
Dipavarsa v. 72. ff, Mahāvanssa IV.

² Tradition has it that Tissa also compiled the *Kathavatthu*, a treatise refuting all the heretical doctrines of those times, and incorporated it with the Canon. It is one of the books of the Abhidhammapitaka. It presupposes not only the texts of the Vinayapitaka and of all the Nikāyas of the Suttapitaka, but other books of the Abhidhammapitaka. It would therefore be assumed that this book was written after the compilation of the Canon by Tissa himself, and the members of the council appended it to the whole work by way of a crowning piece.

³Cf. Kausāmbī Edict in the Allahabad Pillar; Sārnath and Sānchi Pillar Edicts

The fourth and the last general council of the Buddhist church was held in Kaśmir under the leadership of the elder Fourth General Council in Kashmir. Vasumitra and the great scholar Aśvaghosha during the reign of Kanishka. This council settled certain controversial questions arising out of some differences of opinion between the Sarvāstivāda teachers of Kaśmir and Gandhāra and also composed three large commentaries of the three Piṭakas known as Vibhāshās.

We find in the time of Kanishka the rise of a new school of Buddhism known as Mahāyāna or the great vehicle which differs in many essential points from the old Buddhism Mahayānism of the Brāhmaṇical schools. This new doctrine may, however, be found in the teaching of the Buddha himself, although the name Mahāyāna is new and is found for the first time in the time of Kanishka. According to Buddha's teachings, there are three ways or vehicles for the realising of Nirvāna :

(1) Those who want to achieve their own salvation as soon as possible, without considering about others, can realise that goal by the attainment of arhatship. This vehicle is called Aññat-yāna or the vehicle of the Arhats.

(2) Those who together with the attainment of their own salvation want to do some more beneficial work for others can reach the goal by the way which is called pratyeka-Buddhayāna or the vehicle of individual Buddha.

(3) Those who have renounced their own salvation or Nirvāna in order to help others and to this end have dedicated their lives. This is Buddhayāna or the vehicle of the Buddha.

In the older eighteen schools into which old Buddhism was divided all the three vehicles stated above were equally respected. At the beginning of the Christian era, there developed one school of thought which denounced the other two vehicles and proclaimed that the Buddhayāna was the great and the only vehicle. In order to have canonical sanction for the Buddhayāna, or which they named Mahāyāna or the great vehicle to distinguish it from the other two yānas which they called together the little vehicle,

they compiled many sūtras, such as Ratnakūṭa and Vaipulya, which differed radically from the sūtras of the old Piṭakas in many essential points. For instance, the Mahāyānists who followed the new canonical books, the Vaipulya sūtras deified the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Bodhisattvas, according to Buddhist tradition, are beings who were in the process of attaining Buddhahood but had not yet attained it. For instance the Buddha himself was born as Bodhisattvas innumerable times before he attained

perfection at Gayā. This introduction of the
Mahāyānism and worship of the image of the Buddha and of the
Hinayānism compared,
Bodhisattvas is a novel feature of Mahāyānism

in clear contrast to Hinayānism. A second point of contrast is that whereas the Hinayānists relied more on personal efforts at good living as the way to salvation, the Mahāyānists relied more and more on the devotion and worship of the Buddha as a means of salvation and consequently introduced image-worship with its attendant rituals, ceremonies, charms and formulae. Faith took the place of reason, devotional worship replaced self-efforts. A third point of contrast between the two schools is that whereas canonical texts of Hinayāna were all written in Pāli, those of Mahāyāna are found written in Sanskrit.

Among the great exponents of the Mahāyāna doctrine and philosophy may be mentioned the names of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Dīgnāga and Dharmakīrti.

The points in which Buddhism and Jainism differ from Brahmanism or orthodox Hinduism are the points of resemblance between the former two. Both Buddhism and Jainism are protestant religious movements against the corruptions of Brāhmaṇism. Both denied the authority of the Brāhmaṇic ceremonies and sacrificial worships, denied the superiority of the Brāhmans and the caste-system. The founders of both religions were Kshatriya princes who drew their inspiration from the teachings of the Upanishads and preached their religions in the common language of people. Both laid emphasis on moral actions, the practice of Ahimsā and on monastic life free from worldly tangles.

But in many other respects they differed fundamentally from each other. The Nirvāṇa of the Buddhists is fundamentally different from that of the Jainas. The Nirvāṇa of the former is escape from existence, while that of the latter is escape from body. The Jaīns believe in rigorous asceticism which is discarded by the Buddhists. The doctrine of Ahimsā, believed in by both, is carried by the Jainas to a far greater extent than ever contemplated by the Buddhists. Jainism retains a number of Brāhmaṇic practices and ceremonies and a modified form of caste-system—totally discarded by the Buddhists. Buddhism has almost disappeared from India, while Jainism is still followed by a considerable section of Indian people.

Both Buddhism and Jainism retain some features of their parent religion, Hinduism. Buddhism and Jainism, as have been stated at the outset of this chapter, are mere offshoots of Hinduism, arising in protest of some of the corruptions of the latter, discarding its evils but retaining its fundamental principles. For instance, the law of Karma and Rebirth, the doctrine of Ahimsā, the spirit of toleration and purity of life are common features found in all three.

DOWNFALL OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA : ITS CAUSES.

There is a great deal of misunderstanding as to the real causes of the downfall of Buddhism in India. Some have ascribed the disappearance of Buddhism from India to Brāhmaṇic revival under the Imperial Guptas and to the loss of royal patronage. Buddhism existed in flourishing condition during and long after the rule of the Guptas as has been testified to by Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang. Moreover, the loss of royal patronage cannot be the cause of the extinction of a true and strong religion. Others have ascribed its downfall to Sankarāchārya's anti-Buddhist crusade. This is also historically wrong as will be shown later. Others again have ascribed its downfall from India to Muslim invasion and persecution. The latter may be a contributory cause but is never by itself solely responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism from India. The real cause lay in the decay and rottenness which overtook the Buddhist Saṅgha in the last stage of its existence in India which,

however, coincided with Muslim invasions of this country. But to say, therefore, that Buddhism fell because of the Muhammadan persecution alone is wrong, for, Brāhmaṇism being equally under the persecution of the Muslim conquerors at the same period survived, while the former succumbed. Why? Because of the inherent defective system of its organisation lying, ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{on} the ¹⁴ ~~on~~ monastic life and the gradual transformation of Buddhiśā by the introduction of some of those features of Brāhmaṇism against which the founder of the faith, Gautama Buddha, raised his voice of protest. To understand this gradual deterioration of Buddhism which succumbed to the contributory causes stated above, it is necessary to give a brief historical review:

The first stage of change of Buddhism was the rise of the school of Mahāyāna which introduced the worship of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, especially of the Bodhisattva Lokiteśvara, Mañjuśri and others. The first image of the Buddha was made during the time of the Emperor Kanishka and after the creation of new Bodhisattvas, their images also came into existence. They were worshipped everywhere and people built great temples to them endowed with much wealth and ornaments. Then they invented many gods and goddesses, first as symbols of the different qualities of the Buddha and the more eminent Bodhisattvas but afterwards that symbolism was lost and they became separate gods and goddesses. Thus through the advent of Mahāyāna, Buddhism was diverted into quite a new channel leading to image-worship.

After the fifth century A.D. monasteries of Northern India contained images of these gods and goddesses which were worshipped by Buddhists. As time went on, the popular mind was more and more attracted towards these magnificent images of temples and monasteries which were patronised by kings and wealthy persons. Many unworthy people entered monastic life because they found these monasteries an abode of easy and comfortable life. When the number of such unworthy entrants increased and they formed a majority within the Order, they began to relax many rules and sought sanctions to indulge in many vices. To that end they composed many Tāntra texts, into which, by and

by, they introduced some practices which were quite contrary to the ethics of Buddhism. This phase of Buddhism which was evolved out of Mahāyāna is known as Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism. The Vajrayānists, following the precedence created by the Mahāyānists, composed many books on their own doctrines. They propagated them secretly among their followers. They mentioned that the Buddha did not preach only one Dharma but three kinds of Dharma—the first Śrāvakyāna at Sārnāth, the second Mahāyāna for more evolved people at Rājagṛīha, and the third Vajrayāna for the highly evolved people at Dhānyakaṭaka in South India. The Mahāyānists could not stop Vajrayāna any more than the Hinayānists could stop the spread of Mahāyāna. Moreover, the Vajrayānists did not teach openly and introduced many esoteric practices in which women and wine were most essential things.

This attracted many people. The work began to exercise a great influence on popular minds on account of their psychic powers which they obtained by constant mystic practices. These psychic powers which were akin to hypnotism passed for spiritualism. While this new phase of Buddhism succeeded in influencing popular minds, it also helped to destroy the ethical fervour of the monastic order.

By the beginning of the ninth century Vajrayāna was firmly established in India, so much so, that even the great monasteries of Nālandā which was hitherto a great centre of Mahāyānism and of University learning became the headquarters of Vajrayāna. The introduction of esoteric practices, demonstrations of psychic powers, sorceries and incantations along with the worship of hundreds of gods and goddesses housed in temples and monasteries so completely changed the Buddhism of Śākyā Muni that by the end of twelfth century A.D. nothing of the old religion was left, and mysticism and Tāntricism took its place. The mystics had such great influence that princes and peasants vied with one another to lavish gifts and endowments on monasteries to earn their good will and protection. The kings had such implicit faith in their formulae and practices that instead of spending money on the army, they liberally patronised the monasteries

and employed their Tāntric priests to perform mystic ceremonies for the protection of their realm. In this way the coffers of monasteries held more gold, silver and jewels than the treasures of kings, since for centuries the rich and poor alike vied with one another to fill them. At this time when the state of Buddhism was rotten to the core, the Turks invaded the country, destroying the great temples and monasteries considered most sacred and miraculous. Images of gods and goddesses were broken into pieces; though the mystic priests performed their sacrifices and mystic incantations, these did not help them. Thus by the beginning of the thirteenth century the whole of Northern India had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The Pāla kings who built the monastery of Odantapuri especially for the mystic monks in order to have their help, relied more upon their magic power than upon their armies to ward off the Muslim invasion, with the result that only two hundred horsemen under Muhammad Bin Bakhtiyar were able to capture the capital. Bakhtiyar destroyed the famous monastery of Nālandā. The image of the goddess Tārā, which was considered to possess great magic power was broken and thrown down. The great University Library of Nālandā where Yuan Chwang studied for five years was burnt and destroyed. The same fate overtook the great University Library of Vikramāśilā. Had the ~~the~~ ~~Turks~~

~~capital object was to obtain their wealth.~~ Thus when Buddhism in Northern India was rotten from within, there came the Turks to whose blows it so easily succumbed.

Another popular but mistaken belief is that Śrī Saṅkāchārya destroyed Buddhism in India by his relentless crusade against it throughout India. He not only used his great knowledge and debating skill to defeat Buddhist scholars in discussions but that he inspired his followers with such deep hatred for Buddhism that they used violence against it. This belief is not only not true, but is unworthy of the great leader of Brāhmaṇic revival and of the cult of Advaitavāda. Our study of the historical materials available in the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist literatures together with the archaeological finds compels us to discard this notion. Saṅkarā-

chārya flourished about the eighth century A.D. His great contemporary Śāntarakṣita who criticised all the philosophical theories of his contemporaries and predecessors in his famous book Tattvasaṅgraha says nothing about Śaṅkarāchārya. That shows that Śankara was not well-known at that time and that the militant crusade against Buddhism that is ascribed to him was not enough to attract his contemporary's notice. It would seem that Śaṅkarāchārya was raised to a high position among Indian thinkers on account of Vāchaspati who began to preach Śaṅkara's theories through learned commentaries and philosophical interpretations one century after. Yet in the commentaries of Vāchaspati we find nothing that can be taken exception to by the Buddhists. He was too good a Hindu to preach violence or intolerance or hatred against Buddhism or for the matter of that, against any religion. The great exploits or conquests narrated at length in the works of Ānandagupta and Mādhyavāchārya cannot be accepted as true since we find no mention of these armed crusades of Śaṅkara against Buddhists in Buddhist records in Pāli, Chinese or Tibetan. If they really occurred, surely these records would have mentioned them. Nor do we find any mention of his crusading activities in Southern India in the Ceylonese Chronicles; for the Dipavāraṇa and the Mahāvāraṇa which make frequent mentions of the brutalities of the Tamil kings against Buddhism says nothing about the crusades of Śaṅkara.

The fact is that Buddhism existed in a flourishing condition up to the end of the seventh century A.D. as testified to by Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. Later on, until the twelfth century, we find that Buddhism although internally weakened and corrupted by Vajrayāna remained outwardly strong under the patronage of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. In the tenth century, the Buddhists founded large monasteries as Vikramāśilā (founded by Devapāla). It was in this Pāla period that many Indian teachers went to Tibet where they strengthened Buddhism and translated thousands of Buddhist works into Tibetan language which are still preserved. During this period many Tibetan Buddhist monks came to the monastic universities. These records did not mention Śaṅkara's crusade.

The rulers of Kānyakubja in the north-west of the Pāla kingdom who had an extensive territory running from the Jumna to the Gandak had a great respect for Buddhism, although they were the followers of Brāhmaṇism. Their magnificent gifts to Buddhist monasteries prove this. King Govinda Chandra donated five villages to the monastery of Jetavana, as can be seen from his copper-plate inscriptions. His queen Kumāra Devī built a magnificent Vihāra at Sārnāth, the ruins of which are still in good condition. His great grandson Jayachandra also admired Buddhism as is shown by the Gayā inscription in which this king is mentioned as a disciple of Mitra Yogi, a famous Buddhist saint of the twelfth century. Thus we find that until the twelfth century Buddhism was prevalent in North India. Archaeological proofs of the prevalence of Buddhism in South India also exist.

Buddhist usages of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found in Mahobā and also in Ellorā, Nāsik, and many other parts of the Deccan. Unfinished Buddhist cave temples are found in Autangabad and other places. In Śaṅkara's own native country Kerala, the manuscript of Mañjuśrīmūla-kalpa was found even later than this time, and this shows, to say nothing of other parts, that even in Śaṅkara's own birth-place Buddhism was in existence many centuries after his time. From the above evidence, both negative and positive, we cannot accept the story that Śaṅkara destroyed Buddhism in India.

Summarised, it comes to this that the chief cause of the disappearance of Buddhism was the prevalence of Vajrayāna which sapped its foundation by destroying all moral strength. The secondary or contributory cause was the invasion of the Turks which gave the final blow which the morally and ethically weakened structure of Buddhism could not withstand. Though the Turks did not spare the Brāhmaṇic temples also, and there were Tāntric practices among some of the followers of Brāhmaṇism, Brāhmaṇ teachers based their teachings on strict moral and ethical principles and good character, so that they were more respected. That is why we find the Brāhmaṇic temples more often restored,

although the Buddhists were unable to restore their temples and monasteries. Take, for example, the famous temple of Viśvanātha of Benares which was destroyed several times and was again and again restored. First it was destroyed by the Turks who erected a mosque in its place which still exists there. And even now, on Śivarāti day, people visit this spot to offer flowers and water to a stone-pillar standing in the courtyard of the mosque. Then the Brāhmans erected another Viśvanātha temple at a place now known as Ādīviśvara (Original Viśvanātha); that also was destroyed. And the third one was erected at Jñāna Vāpi which was destroyed by Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century. Again the Brāhmans were able to construct another one which is the present Viśvanātha temple. Here we find examples of the activities of the Brāhmans and how they were able to collect sufficient funds to erect marvellous temples ; but if we look at the ruins of the Buddhist buildings, the last Vihāra was built by queen Kūmāra Devī in the eleventh century ; and after its destruction no restoration was made, until only a few years ago. We find the same thing in connection with Nālandā, Jetavana and other Buddhist places in the Middle India. They show that once Buddhist monasteries were destroyed, Buddhist monks were unable to restore them. What was the cause ? It was because the Buddhist monks who were the leaders of the whole Buddhist community had no reputation for good character or other admirable qualities. They had been respected only because they possessed supernatural powers through their Tāntric practices and incantations. Through the great blow the Turks dealt to these supernatural powers, the whole foundation of their prestige and power vanished, and their immoral practices were laid bare before the people ; therefore they could not be helped by the people in the restoration of their temples. Also by reason of their special dress and lonely dwellings, outside the cities and towns, they were conspicuous enough to be singled out by the invaders. On account of these two causes they were forced to flee from India to the safer border countries such as Nepal and Tibet. Thus by the fall of the Buddhist monasteries and

temples, and by the absence of their leaders, the Buddhist monks, Buddhists were abandoned and left without guides and in the very nature of the organisation they were helpless. Within one or two centuries, some of them who had relatives and caste people of their own in the Brāhmaṇic faith, returned to that faith, others who were considered inferior or suffered from social tyranny of the higher castes were tempted to accept Islam. Thus somewhere in the fourteenth century Buddhism disappeared from the Middle country. It lingered for a few years more in some other places; but without backbone it was unable to stand; and thus the disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth became complete.ⁱ

Thanks to the activities of the Mahā Bodhi Society of India founded by the late Devamitta Dharmapāla of Ceylon there has been an earnest attempt to revive Buddhism Revival of Buddhism in India. The Mūlagandhakuti Vihāra of

Sārnāth has been restored by a magnificent building. Along with it, rest houses for Buddhist monks and pilgrims, a hospital, a school house and a library building have been constructed. Sārnāth where the Buddha had set the Wheel of Law in motion and where Aśoka had perpetuated that event by building a monastery and setting up an inscribed pillar, is again humming with life as the headquarter of the Buddhist organisation in India, after a lapse of several centuries. New Vihāras have been built at Kuśinārā and Śāvasti and Calcutta. A Buddhist rest house has been built at Bodh-Gayā near the Mahā Bodhi Temple. Branches of the Mahā Bodhi Society have been opened in different towns and cities of India.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM THE 6TH CENTURY TO THE 4TH CENTURY B.C.

I

POLITICAL CONDITION

The Pre-Mauryan States

In the sixth century B.C. we are on more solid grounds as to the political history of India, the Buddhist and the Jaina books as well as Brāhmaṇic literature, the Purāṇas, providing plenty of identical and corroborative evidences for its construction.

The most striking feature in the political condition of India in the sixth century B.C. was the absence of any paramount power.

Sixteen Great The whole of North India from Gandhāra (Modern Kaśmir and Taxila) to the borders of Janapadas.

Bengal was parcelled out roughly among sixteen principal states. The Buddhist canonical texts, the Anguttara Nikāya names these sixteen Mahājanapadas as follows:

- (1) Kāśī.
- (2) Kośala.¹
- (3) Aṅga.²
- (4) Magadha.³
- (5) Vajji.⁴
- (6) Malla.⁵
- (7) Chedi.⁶
- (8) Vānsa (Vatsa).⁷

1. Roughly corresponding to modern Oudh. 2. The state of Magadha roughly corresponding to the district of Bhagalpur.

3. Corresponds roughly to the present districts of Patna and Gayā. 4. A confederation of several clans with their capital at Vaiśali.

5. The territory of the twin republican states with capitals at Kuśinārā (modern Kasia near Gorakhpur) and Pāvā (modern Padrauna, 12 miles north of Kasia.) 6. Modern Bundelkhand.

7. The capital of Vatsa or Varhsa kingdom is identified with the ruins of Kosam, a village 38 miles from Allahabad. For proofs of its identification read the author's Early History of

- (9) Kuru.⁸
- (10) Pañchāla.⁹
- (11) Machchha (Matsya).¹⁰
- (12) Sūrasena.¹¹
- (13) Assaka.¹²
- (14) Avantī.¹³
- (15) Gandhāra.¹⁴
- (16) a Kamboja.¹⁵

In the sixth century B.C.—many of the above states had lost their importance which they had before; and some had not yet attained the importance which they got later. Of the former, Kuru and Pañchāla which occupied a premier position in North India in the later Vedic period occupy a secondary position now. The kingdom of Videha which was the centre of political greatness and cultural activities just a century earlier is no longer heard. The kingdom was destroyed by means of an armed revolution of the people on account of the tyranny of its last king Kalāra Janaka¹ and on the ruins of which three republican states arose. The kingdom of Kāśī which had retained its supremacy in North India upto the beginning of the sixth century B. C. fell a victim first to the growing power of Kośala and then of Magadha.

Besides the republics of the Vajjian confederation and the twin republics of the Mallas, of Pāvā and Kusinārā, the Buddhist texts also mention several other small aristocratic republics, e.g., the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, the Bhaggas of Sumsumāra Giri, the Bulis of Allakappa and the Moriyas of Pippalivana. They were all Kshatriya tribes and claimed and

Kauśāmbī, pp. 83-99. 8. Roughly corresponding to modern Dehli Province and Meerut district. 9. Corresponding roughly to Rohilkhand Division. 10. Roughly corresponding to Jaipur State. 11. The country with capital at Mathurā. 12. A state in the neighbourhood of Avanti. 13. Roughly corresponding to modern Mālwā. 14. Roughly corresponding to modern Kashmir and Taxila. 15. A state immediately north of Gandhāra identified with Rājpura described by Yuan Chwang to have existed in the modern N.W.I.P.

¹ Majjh. Nik.—Makhadeva-Sutta [II. 82]; Nimi Jātaka; Buddha Charita [IV, 80]; Arthaśāstra.

received an equal share of the bodily remains of the Buddha after his Parinirvāṇa at Kuśinārā with the representatives of Magadha and Vaiślāl.¹

But the States which stand out prominently out of the sixteen Janapādas mentioned above were Kośala, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Varmīsa and Āvanti. These States figure prominently in the Buddhist literature as fighting with one another and each having direct and intimate relations with the Buddha who visited these cities several times and succeeded in converting the princes and the people there to the new doctrine.

Kosala. Kośala which roughly speaking corresponds to modern Oudh occupied a premier position in the time of its king Mahākośala, who reigned in the beginning of the 6th century B.C. In his time Kāśī was a fief of the kingdom of Kośala being apparently conquered by his predecessors. When Mahākośala married his daughter Kośala Devī to Bindusāra, king of Magadha, he gave a village of Kāśī as dowry to his daughter. His son and successor Prasenajit was a contemporary and great admirer of the Buddha who evidently converted him and his people to the new doctrine. The Samyutta Nikāya mentions Prasenajit as the head of a group of five rājās. This proves Kośala's premier position in North India before the rise of Magadha to that position.

The Vajjians, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, included eight confederated clans, of whom the Lichhavis and the Videhans were the most important.² Videha was once a

Vajji. kingdom which rose to the great power and importance in the time of its philosopher-king, Janaka. During his time, the capital Mithilā was the centre of political and cultural activity of Northern India. The last king of Videha and of the direct line of the great Janaka was Kalāra who perished as we have seen (p. 69) along with his kingdom and relations as a result of a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden just as

¹ Digh. Nik.—Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.

² Buddhist India, p. 25. 3. Kaśala occ. to the Mbh.

the last king of Rome, Superbus Tarquinius, was driven from his kingdom for a similar offence. On the ruins of the Videhan kingdom arose the two great republics of the Videhans and the Lichchhavis and six small others. The capital of Videhan republic was Mūhilā which has been identified with the modern town of Janakpur. Dr. Rhys Davids says that the name of the town 'preserves the memory of the famous Rajput scholar and philosopher, king Janaka of old time.'

More powerful than the Videhans in fact the most powerful of the republican clans forming the Vajjian confederation were the Lichchhavis. They were an independent clan¹ and not Hindooed foreigners as Dr. V. Smith seems to think.² They were a war-like and independence-loving people. They had evidently taken a leading part in the revolution which destroyed the Videhan monarchy and created the republican confederation, for their city Vaiśālī was not only the capital of their clan but was also the capital of the entire Vajjian confederation. There are plenty of references about their war-like nature in the Buddhist texts. Even in the time of the Great Bimbisāra, they were bold enough to attack his kingdom across the Ganges. Bimbisāra had entered into a friendly alliance with them by marrying a Vaiśālī princess Chellānā. Also king Ajātaśatru who was a terror to his neighbours, was afraid of the Lichchhavis, so much so that he built a strong fort on the junction of the Ganges and the Sōn, on the site of the village Pāṭali, which afterwards developed into the famous city of Pāṭaliputra and the metropolis of the great Magadhan empire for nearly one thousand years. Determined to destroy his turbulent neighbours the Lichchhavis, Ajātaśatru adopted a treacherous means. This chief minister Vassakāra was sent to Vaiśālī to create dissension, quarrels and civil strife among the Lichchhavis. Vassakāra succeeded in his mission so well that Ajātaśatru was able to destroy their independence and with it the Vajjian confederacy with little opposition.³

¹ Dīg. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

² Indian Antiquary 1903, p. 233; 1908, p. 73.

³ Dīg. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

The Lichchhavis were a sort of an aristocratic republic, the power of the state was vested in the assembly elected by the citizens. The government was carried on by 'elders' each of whom bore the title of Rājā¹. So that a Rājā in Vaiśālī or for the matter of that, of any other aristocratic republic of which there were quite a few at that time in the Middle and Northern India, did not mean a monarch but only a ruler or a member of the Government. We have no means to ascertain whether these Rājās were elected or were hereditary heads of the families composing the clan. One of the Jātakas relates that seven thousand, seven hundred and seven Rājās lived in Vaiśālī and exercised the right of sovereignty.² If the number is correct, then there must have been as many thousand families forming the Lichchhavi clan. Our surmise is that the Assembly elected the members of the government from among the heads of the noble families, each of whom bore the title of Rājā. The Lichchhavis had friendly relations with both Kośala and the Mallas².

Among the public buildings, the city had a large hall—Santhāgāra or the hall of the Assembly where the Lichchhavi Rājās transacted business of state.

The capital city of the Lichchhavis, Vaiśālī was intimately connected with both Jainism and Buddhism. The mother of Mahāvira the founder of Jainism, was a Lichchhavi princess, Trīśalā, her father Chetaka being a Rājā of Vaiśālī. The birth-place of Mahāvira was Kundagrāma which was a suburb of the city of Vaiśālī. The Lichchhavis were among the most ardent followers of the Buddha, who always admired them for their spiritual earnestness and amity among themselves. The Buddha visited Vaiśālī several times, and among his last visit to the city before his Mahāparinibbāna he spent a considerable time in Vaiśālī and its suburban towns such as Kundagrāma, Hatthigāma, etc. On the eve of his leaving Vaiśālī during his last visit the Buddha feelingly spoke to Ananda :

¹ Ekapanna Jātaka; Law, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India. p. 99.

² Ib.

"This will be the last time, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata will behold Vaiśālī.¹

We have it from the Pāli texts that Vaiśālī was 'an opulent and prosperous town, crowded with people, abundant with goods'; that it had thousands of seven-storied buildings';

Venue of the
Second Buddhist
Council The Pāli texts also refer to the largeness of

the city. The introductory portion of the Ekapanna Jātaka relates that a 'triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch towers'. Vaiśālī had the distinction of being the venue of the second general council of Buddhist monks. The city has been identified with Besāth in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.

The Malla territory was another republican state in the 6th century B.C. with two divisions. The capital of one division was Kuśinārā and that of the other was Pāvā.

The Mallas. The importance of the Malla state lies in the fact that the last two towns the Buddha visited before his final passing away were Pāvā and Kuśinārā. In the former place he took his last meal and was taken ill. In the latter place he died. Kuśinārā has been definitely identified with Kasia near Gorakhpur (U.P.) and Pāvā with Padrauna, 12 miles north of Kasia. The Mallas were great admirers of the Buddha and were a brave and war-like people, of which there are several references in the Buddhist and Jaina books.

The Vātā or Vatsa country was a powerful monarchical state. Its capital was Kauśāmbī which is identified definitely

with the village of Kosam, 38 miles south-west of Allahabad. It was one of the six great cities of that time and was a centre of trade and traffic. Situated on the banks of the Jumna, it was like Taxila, Śrāvasti, Vaiśālī, Rājagrīha and Vaiśālī, a wealthy and commercial city in which millionaire merchants, lesser

¹ Dig. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta).

merchants and middlemen resided. In the Sutta Nipāta we are told that the most important entrepot of goods and passengers from south and west was Kauśāmbī.¹

In the sixth century B.C. the king who reigned in Kauśāmbī was Udayana. Udayana is described in Buddhist books to be a war-like and powerful king. His relations with the neighbouring states were none too peaceful. Wedged between the two powerful neighbouring states Magadha in the east and Avantī in the west and with its capital city of Kauśāmbī commanding the trade routes by land and water in Mid-India, Udayana's kingdom was coveted by both Ajātaśatru and Pajjota, the king of Avantī. The powerful king Ajātaśatru of Magadha had extended his territory in the west as far as Kāśī which touched the eastern confines of the kingdom of Udayana who secured his eastern frontiers by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Magadha. King Pajjota also invaded his kingdom, but was unsuccessful and had to buy peace by giving his daughter in marriage to its king, Udayana. These two royal marriages were essentially necessary for the maintenance of the political independence of Vārṣa which served as a buffer state between Avantī and Magadha. "Had not Udayana contracted these alliances", says Dr. Law, "Kauśāmbī would have fallen an easy prey to the overgrowing power of Magadha and Avantī."² Udayana was so alive to his dangers that he always kept his army in readiness, and had his frontiers guarded by fortresses. The elephants formed a considerable portion of his armed force. He was very fond of hunting, preserved an extensive forest, appointed forest guards to keep watch over them.³

Udayana was at first hostile to Buddhism and persecuted the Buddhists in his kingdom. Afterwards as a result of Buddha's visit to Kauśāmbī and his religious discourses which the king attended, Udayana became an ardent follower and made

¹ Vinaya Texts—Part II, SBE. p. 171.

² Law: Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 23.

³ Early History of Kauśāmbī, by the Author pp. 18-19.

Buddhism the State religion. Kauśāmbī remained a great centre of Buddhistic activities for several centuries after Udayana. Yuan Chwang who visited Kauśāmbī in the 7th century A.D. testifies to have seen the ruins of the famous Vihāra and of the homes, in which Vasubandhu and Asaṅga lived. • Aśoka set up two pillars there, one inscribed and the other uninscribed. The former which was also used by Samudragupta for his inscription to perpetuate his victory of the battle of Kauśāmbī was afterwards removed by Akbar to Allahabad Fort. It still exists there.

The latter pillar is still *in situ* and is one of the important archaeological monuments to be seen in the ruins of Kosam. A large number of coins, some of them very ancient, and a large number of terra-cotta figures, stone images etc., which testify to the continuous history of Kauśāmbī from the ancient to mediaeval age, have been found and removed to the Allahabad Museum. The discovery of a stone image of the Buddha in 1934 in which there is an inscription lends the archaeological proof to the Pāli references that the Buddha visited Kauśāmbī several times. The image belongs to the 1st century A.D.¹

Avanti, the capital of which was Ujjain, was ruled by King Pajjota, a contemporary of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī and of the Buddha. The kingdom of Avanti, which Avanti. name it bore as late as the 2nd century B.C., roughly corresponds to the central Mālwā, Nīmār and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. From the early middle ages the kingdom was known as Mālwā. King Pajjota is described in Buddhist books as a fierce, war-like, ambitious king. He also wanted to rule over the kingdom of Udayana. The Dhammapada Atṭhakathā relates that Udayana was once captured by a stratagem and Udayana eloped with his daughter by a counter stratagem and married her.² This story is perhaps at the basis of the war-like relations between the two kings which afterwards happily ended into a matrimonial alliance between the two states.

¹ For further details see the author's book 'Early History of Kauśāmbī', pp. 69 and 108-110.

² Ib., pp. 13-16.

Rise of Magadha

Of all the States mentioned above Magadha rose to be the most powerful and premier state in North India during the period under review. The first important king who founded the greatness of Magadha was Bimbisāra.

Bimbisara
c. B.C. 547.

In the Jaina books he is named as Śrenika. According to the Pāli chronicles he reigned for 52 years and died eight years before Buddha's parinirvāna which took place in c. 487 B.C. Therefore Bimbisāra must have come to the throne about (487+8+52) 547 B.C., and died in c. 495 B.C. He entered into wise matrimonial alliances. He married Kośala Devī, daughter of King Mahākośala of Kośala, who granted a village in Kāśī as dowry to his daughter. He kept the turbulent Licchhavīs in check by entering into a matrimonial alliance with them. He married Chellanā, a princess of Vaiśālī.¹ He also conquered the kingdom of Aṅga whose capital was Champā over which he appointed his son Kuṇika Ajātaśatru as Viceroy. The king of Aṅga whom Bimbisāra had defeated in battle was Brahmadatta. Thus, partly by diplomacy and partly by war, Bimbisāra expanded the Magadhan dominions in all directions and launched Magadha in that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when Aśoka sheathed his sword after the conquest of Kaliṅga². The extent of Bimbisāra's dominion may be realised from the fact that it 'embraced 80,000 villages and was about twenty three hundred miles in circumference'.³ The capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadha of the time of the Mahābhārata was Girivraja which was a natural hill fortress. Bimbisāra built a new capital at the foot of the hills which he called Rājagṛha. Remains of Rājagṛha still exist at the modern village of Rājgir, 50 miles east from Patna. Bimbisāra was a contemporary of the Buddha and died eight years before the great teacher, having reigned according to Ceylonese Chronicles for 52 years.⁴

¹ Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, I, XII-XV.

² PHĀI, p. 138.

³ Dip. III, 56-60; Mhv. II, 29-30.

Ajātaśatru succeeded his father Bimbisāra on the throne of Magadha. His reign was the high water-mark of the power of the house of Bimbisāra. His mother was Ajatasatru
o. 495 B.C. Chellanā, a Vaiśāli princess, but this did not prevent him from carrying on war with the Lichchhavīs, his mother's people. He first built a fort at Pāṭali-gāma on the junction of the rivers, the Ganges and the Sōn to repel the Vajjians, then destroyed the independence of the Lichchhavīs by carrying on the war in their own territory. The Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya describes how by diplomacy and intrigues he first weakened the Vajjians by creating dissensions and disunion among them and then destroyed their independence by invading their territory and defeating them in battle.¹

He also made war on Kośala. The story of Ajātaśatru's war with Kośala is found in the Samyutta Nikāya in which it is related that king Prasenajit withheld the revenues of Kāśī from his nephew who had killed his father. This brought about the prolonged war between uncle and nephew in which sometimes the one and sometimes the other won. At one time the king of Kośala fled away in defeat; at another Ajātaśatru was taken prisoner. Ultimately it appears that Ajātaśatru got the best of the war, for Prasenajit was humbled down to buy peace by giving his daughter Vajirā in marriage to Ajātaśatru and giving up all claims over Kāśī which was annexed to the kingdom of Magadha.² Thus, as a result of the aggressive policy of Ajātaśatru, the kingdom of Magadha was enlarged by the addition of Vaiśāli and Kāśī. Three events of outstanding importance took place in the reign of Ajātaśatru for none of which, however, he had any direct responsibility, and with the two of which he was only distantly connected. The first was the tragic end of king Prasenajit of Kośala. His eldest son Viḍūḍabha rebelled against him and with the help of his father's minister Digha Chārāyaṇa raised himself to the throne, when his father Prasenajit was absent in a country-town. The ex-king set out alone for Rājagṛīha to secure his nephew's help against his

¹ Dig. Nik. (Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta).

² Jāt. II, 404 IV. 343.

rebel son. But he died from exposure outside the gates of Rājagṛīha.¹

The second was the destruction of Kapilavastu by Viḍūḍabha. The story as told in Buddhist books has been summed up by Dr. Rhys Davids as follows : King Prasenajit being desirous to associate himself with the Buddha's family asked for one of the daughters of the Śākyas as his wife. The Śākyas discussed the proposition in their mote-hall and held that the acceptance of the proposal would be beneath the dignity of their clan. But they sent him a girl, named Vāsabha Khattiyā, the daughter of a slave girl of one of their chiefs. By her Prasenajit had a son, Viḍūḍabha, mentioned above. And it was in consequence of the anger kindled in Viḍūḍabha's heart at the discovery of the fraud that, having determined to wreak his vengeance upon the Śākyas, he, on coming to the throne, invaded their country, took their city, and put to death a great number of their clan without distinction of age or sex. The main circumstance of the story, opines Dr. Rhys Davids, is no doubt a historical fact.² It possibly took place a year or two before the death of the Buddha.

The third was the passing away of the Buddha which event took place in the eighth year of Ajātaśatru's reign. The Buddha was taken ill at Pāvā and died at Kuśinārā. Both towns were capitals of the twin Malla republics. After the body of the Buddha was cremated, the representative of Ajātaśatru and those of six republican states demanded a share of the remains of the Master's body which the Mallas of Kuśinārā refused to part with. A war was about to begin, when a peaceful settlement was made at the intervention of a Brāhmaṇ present there, whose name was Drona. Ajātaśatru having received a share of the remains built a stūpa at Rājagṛīha. A few weeks after the Mahāparinirvāṇa or the great passing away of the Buddha, the monks assembled at Rājagṛīha and asked Ajātaśatru to build for them a place where they could assemble to collate and recite the sayings of the Buddha. Ajātaśatru built a fine and spacious Assembly Hall at the famous

¹ Ib., IV. 152.

² Buddhist India, p. 11.

Sāttapāṇī cave in the Vaibhāra hill where the first general council of the Buddhist monks was held and where the Dhamma Suttas and Vinaya Suttas were recited by Ānanda and Upāli respectively and accepted as authoritative collections of the first two Piṭakas.¹

Successors of Ajātaśatru

According to the Purāṇas Ajātaśatru was succeeded by Darśaka and Darśaka by Udayin. The last two kings of the line of Bimbisāra were Nandivardhana and Mahānandin after whom the Nandas began to rule in Magadha. The Pāli² and Jaina³ works, however, ignore Darśaka and make Udayin or Udayibhadra son and successor of Ajātaśatru. The Purāṇic traditions, however, Udayin, find confirmation in Bhāsa's *Śvapnavāsavadattā* in which we are told that Darśaka was king of Magadha and his sister Padmāvatī was married to King Udayana of Kauśambi. The Jaina Parīśishtaparvan makes Padmāvatī, wife of Kunika (Ajātaśatru) and Udayin their son and immediate successor. The work also suggests that Udayin acted as his father's viceroy at Champā. He developed the fortress of Pāṭaliputra built by Ajātaśatru into a large city and transferred there the seat of the government from Rajagṛīha.⁴ Dr. Jayaswal attempted to identify one of Patna statues with Udayin. He reads the inscription in it as ACHO Chhonidhiśe, interprets ACHO as Aja mentioned in the Bhāgavata list of Śaiśunāga kings and holds that Aja is Udayi of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmandalists⁵. The scholars have however rejected the identification and more or less accepted the earlier identification of the statue with that of a Yaksha as made by Cunningham.

Udayin's Successors

The Ceylonese chronicles again differ with the Purāṇas regarding the successors of Udayin. According to the former they are

¹ Sumāṅgala-Vilāśini.

² Samānaphala-Sutta, Dig. Nik. I, 47.

³ Jacobi, Parīśishtaparvan, p. 42.

⁴ Cf. Parīśishtaparvan and Vāyu Purāṇa,

⁵ PHAI, p. 145.

successively Anuruddha, Munda, and Nāgadasaka and that they being all pañcicides, the people revolted and raised an amātya Susunāga (Śiśunāga) to the throne. Who is this Śiśunāga? According to the Purāṇas he is the

founder of the dynasty of which (Bimbisāra) was the fifth king in order of descent, whereas he is placed at the head of the dynasty in the Pāli Chronicles. We find him (Bimbisāra) placed first and Śiśunāga seventh in the Ceylonese list. The Purāṇic genealogy is probably an error. The Purāṇic statement that Śiśunāga destroyed the Pradyotas can only be reconciled with the Ceylonese list. Piadyota (Pāli, Pajjota) was the first of the Pradyota dynasty of Avantī and a contemporary of Bimbisāra according to the Pāli traditions. The Purāṇas mention four kings Pālaka, Gopāla, Āiyaka (Ajaka) and Vartivardhana who came to the throne one after another after Piadyota, and add that 'Śiśunāga will destroy the Pradyotas'. So the destruction of the Pradyotas by Śiśunāga which took place four generations after the first Pradyota, the contemporary of Bimbisāra, places its author long after Bimbisāra and not before him. We are further told in the Purāṇas that Śiśunāga (1) placed his son as viceroy of Benares and (2) made Girivraja his abode. The statement (2) may be used as an argument to place him before Udāyin who, we have seen¹ was the first to transfer the capital from Rājagṛīha to Pāṭaliputra. But, as Dr. Raychaudhuri has convincingly shown by his illuminating examination of independent sources,² 'the fact that Kālāśoka, the son and successor of Śiśunāga, had also to transfer the royal residence from Rājagṛīha to Pāṭaliputra shows that one of his predecessors had reverted to the old capital³'. And this predecessor, he rightly thinks, was Śiśunāga. The statement (No. 1) undoubtedly proves that Benares was included within Śiśunāga's dominions—a fact which proves that 'he came after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in Kāśī.'

¹ *Supra*, p. 79.

² SBE. XI, p. xvi; Tūrnour's *Mahāvāṇīsā* xxxvii,

³ PHAI, p. 147.

HISTORY OF NANDA DYNASTY

Sisunaga was succeeded by his son Kalasoka, who in turn was succeeded by his son Kākavarna, who is probably identical with the Pāṇḍava king Kākavarna mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

Kalasoka or The 400 BC
Kākavarna. A.C. 350 BC

Mundra, and does it therefore follow that he must have been born before 350 BC? It has been shown that Kākavarna reigned about 350 BC. A very important event of his reign was the holding of the Buddhist council at Veraval in 350 BC. The author of the Buddhist history of the 7th century AD, Kākavarna, then it is said, was killed by a dagger thrown by a Brahmin named Bāna, by a dagger thrown by a Brahmin named Bāna. This event hardly occurred before 350 BC according to all sources.

The Buddhist ruler of the 4th century BC, probably ruled sometime during the 4th century BC, of the first Nanda emperor, this author has given the name of one of these rulers as "Bhāskarī" and another as "Bhāskara".¹ Bhāskarī is identified with the Harsha charita of Harsha, and the Harsha charita is the story of a king of the 7th century AD, with a dagger thrown at him by a Brahmin named Bāna, course, Nanda. This author also identifies the Harsha charita with a Jaina and Greek grammar. In the Harsha charita, he identifies him a 'son of a Brahmin' and a 'Brahmin' and a 'Brahmin'.

THE BHĀSKARĀ

The Nanda emperor of the 4th century BC, first Nanda emperor, is identified with the Harsha charita of Harsha, and the Harsha charita is the story of a king of the 7th century AD, with a dagger thrown at him by a Brahmin named Bāna, course, Nanda.

*** The Origin.** According to the Harsha charita, the Harsha charita is the story of a king of the 7th century AD, with a dagger thrown at him by a Brahmin named Bāna, course, Nanda. This author also identifies the Harsha charita with a Jaina and Greek grammar. In the Harsha charita, he identifies him a 'son of a Brahmin' and a 'Brahmin' and a 'Brahmin'.

¹ Geiger, Jātakā and the Mahābhārata, p. 11.

² See Supra, p. 11.

³ The Harsha Charita, loc. cit. p. 109.
F, 11

calls the first Nanda Ugrasena. Greek writer Curtius in speaking of the origin of the Nanda ruler of Magadha says that when Alexander invaded India, the father of "Agrames" (perhaps corrupt form of Sanskrit Augrasenya or son of Ugrasena)¹ was a barbeſ . . . who having gained the affection of the queen . . . afterwards treacherously murdered his sovereign, and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the children, usurped the supreme authority, having put the young princes to death begot the present king."²

The Purāṇas call the founder of the Nanda dynasty Mahāpadma Nanda and rank him as a great warrior who 'like Paraśurāma will destroy the Kshatriyas of this earth Mahāpadma Nanda and will rule it as its sole monarch'. There is no doubt that he made himself master of almost the whole of Northern India except the Punjab and North-Western Frontier [including Kashmīr] which were parcelled out into a number of independent and rival states. This made it comparatively easy for Alexander to advance triumphantly as far as the eastern confines of the Punjab. Mahāpadma Nanda overthrew all the important contemporary Kashtriya ruling dynasties of Northern India such as the Ikshvākus, Kurus, Pāñchālas, Kāśis, Maithilas, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Śūraṣenas etc.³ the famous Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela which states that Nanda Rājā built an aqueduct in Kaliṅga and that he carried away as trophies the statue of the first Jina and heirlooms of Kaliṅga kings proves that a Nanda king conquered the Kaliṅga country and that king was presumably Mahāpadma Nanda whose war-like prowess and extensive conquests have been testified to by the Purāṇas. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri suggests that Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan farther south of Kaliṅga because of the existence there of a city on the Godāvarī "known as Nau Nand Dehra".⁴ The strength and the greatness

¹ We are indebted to Dr. Raychaudhuri for the suggestion.

² Mc.Crindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 222.

³ PHAI, p. 155.

⁴ Ib., p. 156.

of the Nanda empire is also borne out by Greek writers Curtius and Diodorus who state that the Nanda king (the last Nanda) had a large standing army consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 3,000 elephants. Of the enormous wealth of the Nandas, the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang bears testimony to the existence of 'five treasures of King Nanda's seven precious stones'. A passage in the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara states that King Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces.¹

Mahāpadma Nanda was succeeded by his eight sons who according to all authorities reigned simultaneously. The

Mahāpadma's Ceylonese chronicles give the length of the reign successors. period of all the nine Nandas Mahāpadma and

his sons, 22 years. The Purānas, however, give 28 years to Mahāpadma and 12 years to his eight sons. If the Ceylonese chronicles are to be believed as to the total period of the reign, then Mahāpadma Nanda could not have reigned more than ten years. The Purānic accounts are generally brief and less explicit than the Chronicles which are therefore more helpful. The former gives the name of only one son of Mahāpadma, viz.,

Sukalpa. The Mahābodhivamśa names all the Dhana Nanda. eight sons, of whom Dhana was one.

He was the last king of the Nanda line. He is called Dhana Nanda in the Mahāvamśa and Agnames by the Greek writers. He was on the throne of Magadha when Alexander invaded India. After Alexander's retirement from India he was slain by the Maurya Chandragupta who let the great revolution against the Nandas, the full story of which will be told in a subsequent chapter.

It is difficult to be definite on the date of the reign-period of Mahāpadma Nanda and of his dynasty. The data for this purpose are meagre and uncertain. We may, Chronology. however, argue to build up an approximate chronology of the reign period of the Nanda dynasty on the following lines: The second Great Council

¹ Ib., p. 157; Cf. Tawney's translation of the text, vol. I, p. 21.

of the Buddhist Samgha took place one hundred years after the Parinirvāna, i.e., in c. 387 or 386 B.C. [*supra*, p. 52, n. 1 and p. 57], and in the tenth year of Kālaśoka's reign.¹ According to the Ceylonese chronicles Kālaśoka reigned for 28 years and his ten sons for 21 years. Therefore Kālaśoka who had finished 9 years of his reign in 387 or 386 and reigned for 19 years more must have begun his reign in 396 or 395 B.C. He and his sons reigned for 50 years. Therefore Mahāpadma Nandā could not have come to the throne before [396 or 395—50] c. 346 or 345 B.C. According to the same authority the 'Nine Nandas' i.e. Mahāpadma and his eight sons reigned altogether for 22 years. Therefore the rule of Nanda dynasty ended about 324 or 323 B.C., after which the Maurya rule began in Magadha.

APPENDIX I

THE LIST OF PRE-NANDA KINGS OF MAGADHA

A. The Purānas

No.	Name			Length of reign.
I	Śīśunāga	..	..	40 years
II	Kakavarna	..	..	26 ,,
III	Kshemadharman	..	..	36 ,,
IV	Kshemjit	..	..	24 ,,
V	Bimbisāra	.	..	28 ,,
VI	Ajātaśatru	..	..	27 ,,
VII	Datśaka	..	..	24 ,,
VIII	Udāyin	..	..	33 ,,
IX	Nandivardhana	..	..	40 ,,
X	Mahānandin	..	..	43 ,,
<hr/>				
	Total		=	321 years.

¹ Vinaya Pitaka, Cullovagga xii, SBE. vol. I, p. 409 ff.; Dipavamsa V, 27 ff; Mahāvamsa IV.

B. The Ceylonese Chronicles

No.	Name		Length of reign.
I	Bimbisāra	..	.. 52 years
II	Ajātaśatru	..	.. 32 "
III	Udāyin or Udāyibhadra	..	.. 16 "
IV	Anuruddha	..	.. 8 "
V	Munda	..	.. 24 "
VI	Nāgadasaka	..	.. 18 "
VII	Susunāga (Śisunāga)	..	.. 28 "
VIII	Kālāsoka	..	.. 22 "
IX	His ten sons (including Nandivardhana)		<hr/> Total = 200 years.

II

ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Tripitaka, the Jātakas and the Jaina canonical books throw a flood of light on the polity, society and the economic condition of the country specially with regard to its north-eastern part during the period under review.

Polity

The Buddhist political and social theories and practices were undoubtedly more liberal than the Brāhmaical, as were reflected in their political organisations and their outlook on social hegemony. In the Jātakas the Kshatriyas were the ruling class standing above all. But non-Kshatriya kingship was not unknown. In Jātaka II, 326 we find that a tyrannical king was replaced by a Brāhmaṇa king. We find a parallel instance in Jātaka III, 513. The existence of certain republican states in Eastern India has already been referred to as known from the Buddhist literature [Supra. ch. v.]. Some of the representative states which existed in the North-West India about that time are known from the

Greek sources. They lay most in the Punjab and the Greek names of some of them have since been satisfactorily identified with the help of indigenous literature and inscriptions, e.g., Malloī [Mālavas], Oxydrakai [Kshudrakas], the Abastanoi, [Ambashtha].¹

The republican states, we gather from the Buddhist, Jaina and Sanskrit literatures, were known as gaṇas, or tribal republics and the business of state was conducted in an open Assembly Hall, called Santhāgāra. The heads of the families forming the clan or tribe composed the Assembly or Parliament. It is doubtful to say whether the head of every family had a seat in the Assembly. In that case the number would be too unwieldy. It is more reasonable to suppose that the House was elected out of the heads of the families. There is, however, no clear indication of the procedure; may be certain republics had hereditary Presidents or Rājans and others were elected. The accounts of the life of Buddha seem to suggest that he might have succeeded his father Rājā Sudhodana to the headship of the Śākyā clan; while the Sanskrit Buddhist text, the Lalitavistara, no doubt a later work but containing earlier traditions, suggests that the President of the republic of the Vaiśālians was perhaps elected. "Amongst them [the Vaiśālians] the rule of the elders, is not observed; everyone considers himself to be the Rājā. 'I am the Rājā, I am the Rājā.' No one becomes the follower of another."² The passage probably implies equal political rights, the characteristic of a democratic and republican state, which the heads of the Licchhavi clan of Vaiśāli enjoyed and aspired to be elected to the Assembly or even to the Presidentship.³ That the Assembly held frequent sessions for full discussions is clear from a reference in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta [Digha Nikāya]. It is possible, as some scholars hold, that the democratic constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha

¹ Curtius calls them Sabarcae and say that 'they enjoyed a democratic form of government.'

Mc. Crindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 252.

² *Lalitavistara*, III. p. 21.

³ Cf. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I., p. 48.

grew up on the pattern of the political Sanghas. Buddha, the author of the Bhikkhu Sangha, was born in a republican people. He had Sangha neighbours around him and grew up amongst them.¹ So far as the executive is concerned the line of difference between a republican and a monarchical state is very thin. We hear in Vaishali of a Rājā, and Upa-Rāja (Vice President) and a Senāpati² who evidently formed the chief executive. In the monarchical state as in Kosala, Magadha, Vatsa, and Avanti, etc., the king and his council of ministers, including, of course, the Purohita and the Commander-in-chief, formed the chief executive. The executive of the republican states, however, seems to have had to consult the Assembly more frequently. The inter-state relationship was one of rivalry and war which very often ended, as was common in ancient India, in matrimonial alliances. There are several examples of such inter-state marriages in the Buddhist literature. The king of Kośala, Mahakośala, gave his sister, Kośala Devī, in marriage to Bimbisāra, who also married a Lichchhavi princess. We have already referred to the political marriages of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī.³

Society

The Buddhist canonical texts reveal the heretical outlook on caste as distinguished from the orthodox Brāhmaṇical views propounded in the contemporary sūtra literature.

Caste
discourses⁴ of the Buddha seek to set up the ideal of perfect equality of all persons and eradicate the distinction between man and man due to birth. Yet the writings reveal the fact that caste with its appendage of *hina-jāti* or untouchables took deep roots in the society. In the Setaketu Jātaka (III. 236) we find that a

¹ Jayawal, Modern Review 1913; Hindu Polity I, pp. 43 f. Bhandarkar, Charmichael Lectures, 1918, Lecture V.

² JASB, VII, 1833, pp. 994 f.

³ See *supra*, p. 85.

⁴ Cf. the Ambastha Sutta (Dig. Nik.) ; the Assalāyana Sutta (Majjh. Nik.) etc.

Brāhmaṇ runs away from a Chandāla in fear of contamination. In the Mātaṅga Jātaka [IV. 388] we find a Chandāla's dwelling moved down the river, because his tooth-pick thrown by him up the river was caught in the tuft of the hair of a Brāhmaṇ while he was bathing. In the Chitta-Sambhūta Jātaka [IV 391-2] we find that two Chandāla brothers were beaten almost to death by an infuriated mob because at their sight two high-class maidens abandoned a visit to the temple which would end in free distribution of food and drink to the people. There are innumerable such incidents mentioned in the Jātakas which reflect a caste-ridden society, but convey the moral that birth and caste cause conceit, that Khattiya, Bahamana, Vessa, Śuddha, Chandāla and Pukkasa will be 'all equal in the world of the gods, if they have acted virtuously here.' We find in those writings also an attempt to destroy the pretensions of the Brāhmans to superiority and establish that of the Kshatriyas in the social hegemony if birth alone is to be accepted the criterion.¹ That the Buddhists themselves observed the pretensions of blood is clear from the fact related in the Buddhist books that the Śākyas refused to give a full-blooded Śākyā princess in marriage to Prasenajita, king of Kośala, but gave, instead, a Śākyā chief's daughter by a slave woman to the Kośala king who knew nothing. When the repercussion of this deceit was related to the Buddha, he, of course, condemned it.²

Position of women in early Buddhism seems to have deteriorated from that in the Vedic times. In the Position of women. Chulla Vagga [X. 1] we find that the Buddha refused to admit women to the Saṅgha when Mahāprajāpati, his own foster-mother, approached him at Kapilavastu to be admitted as a nun. Later when Gautama Buddha was staying at Vaśali, Mahāprajāpati, dressed as a man and accompanied by a large number of Śākyā women, again approached him with eyes full of tears and weeping with the request for admission to the Saṅgha. This time Ananda, the close disciple of the Buddha, intervened and successfully argued for the admission of

¹ See Assīlāyana Sutta, Ambashṭha Sutta, Sambhava Jātaka V. 27, and many others.

² See *Supra*, p. 78.

women to the *Samgha*. Buddha, while admitting them, enunciated eight rules which made a nun take up an inferior position to that of the monk, and her life a little harder than that of her brother in the Order. Such rules, among others, which made 'a nun even of hundred years' to first greet a monk, rise up before him, salute him with folded hands and make obeisance even if he has only that day been ordained,'¹ and that 'from this day forth utterance of the nuns to the monks is excluded; utterance of the monks to the nuns is not excluded,'² reflect the position of the women in society *vis-a-vis* men—a position which was sought to be maintained in the Order also. That the Buddha was none too happy at the admission of women to the Order is clear from the concluding portion of his discourse to Ānanda relating to that event which incidentally points to the rather low esteem in which they were held in society. "But as women have gone forth, now, Ānanda, the religious life will not last long. . . . Just as houses, where there are many women and few men, are broken into by burglars, even so, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth to a house to houseless life. The religious life will not last long. Just as when the kind of disease called white-boned (mildew) falls upon a field of rice, the field of rice will not last long . . . just as when the disease called crimson falls upon a field of sugar-cane, that field will not last long, even so Ānanda, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth from a house to a houseless life the religious life will not last long. Just as a man, Ānanda, might in anticipation make a dyke for a great reservoir, so that the water should not overflow, even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation prescribed these eight strict rules for the nuns, not to be transgressed while life shall last."³

The important place taken by women ascetics in early Buddhism is shown by the existence in the scriptures of a collection of verses

¹ Rule 1 [Vin. Chullavagga X. 1].

² Rule 8. (*Ib*) Oldenberg interprets this rule as nuns cannot charge a monk with an offence, while the latter can.

³ Vinaya, Chulla-Vagga, X, I.

known as Therigāthā attributed to about a hundred nuns. That the education of women received a fillip since their admission to the Order admits of no doubt.

Economic Condition

Re. the economic condition prevalent during the period under review we are indebted to Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids who have made valuable contributions on the subject by a scientific and exhaustive treatment of the original sources—the Piṭakas and the Jātakas,¹ and all subsequent writers on the subject are more or less indebted to them.

The bulk of the people lived in villages, and agriculture was their main industry, as now. The dwellings of the village clustered together, and round it were the fields of cultivation [Grāma Kshetra], which were divided into small holdings marked by water-ways and fences. Large holdings were rare, and the plots were held in common by the family which was joint. Besides the kshetras which were individual or family properties, were common pasture grounds known as *vana* or *dānu*. The herdsman was the *gopālaka*. Besides the peasant-proprietors, there were land-less labourers and slaves who were employed by well-to-do land-owners to work in the fields. The king's share of the produce which varied from $1/6$ to $1/12$ was realised through the village headman (*gāma bhojaka*) who was either a hereditary officer or elected by the village council. The council, an interesting and important feature of village organisation, was composed of the elders of the village [*Grāma Vriddhas*] perhaps the eldest members and heads of the family, managed all land transactions of the village, e.g., sale, mortgage, endowments etc., helped the headman to maintain local peace and order and carry work of public utility, such as laying roads, making irrigation channels, digging tanks for water-supply, building mote-halls and rest-houses, etc. Life in the village was simple and self-sufficient, for besides agriculture many small crafts and industries subsidiary to it also grew up in the

Village economy and organisation

¹ Cf. Buddhist India, Ch. VI; C.H. I., i., Ch. VIII.

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village. Crimes were rare. Men were happy and contented. They developed a sturdy civic spirit and the method of ~~conducting~~^{conduct} life. "Even women considered it a civic honour to best their own part in Municipal building."¹

Arts and crafts attained to a considerable measure of proficiency. The Jātakas mention eighteen crafts organised into ~~shrenis~~^{shrenis} or guilds, but mention only four of the Arts and crafts. the wood-workers, the smiths, the leather-dressers, and the painters. Some crafts and callings were considered lower and higher according to the nature of the work; for example, hunters, trappers, fishermen, butchers and tanners, snake-charmers, actors, dancers, musicians, cloth-weavers, etc., were considered lower than ivory-workers, weavers, confectioners, jewellers, and workers in metals, bow and arrow-makers, potters, garland-makers and hair-dressers, etc. The crafts and trades' guilds admitted apprentices or learners who are called in the books *antrenikas*, lit. boarders. The head of the guild organisation was called Jeṭṭhaka. We meet in the [Jātakas I. 308, III. 405, IV. 137] with Jeṭṭhakas of scamen, garland-makers, caravan-traders, guards and robbers.²

We meet in the canonical books with the term *setthi* which probably means a head or a prominent merchant. *Setthi* means by interpretation, best, chief. Prabhūji Anāthapindika and Ghosaka³ the richest merchants of Śāvasti and Kauśambi respectively occupied premier positions among the merchants of the cities. That there were different grades of merchants is clear from such terms in the Jātakas as *Mahāsetthi* and *Anusethi*.

The Jātakas also reveal the fact that partnerships in trade and industry were a common factor. The Kuṭavāpija Jātaka, for instance, shows how the two merchants having entered into partnership with an equal interest in the stock-in-trade, fell

¹ C.H.I., Vol. I, Ch. VIII p. 203.

² Ib, p. 207.

³ Author's Early History of Kauśambi, p. 7.

to quarrelling, because one tried to cheat the other.' The cheating merchant, however, failed to achieve his purpose and the 'two merchants made an equal division and each took half.'¹ In the *Supparaka Jataka*² we find that some merchants together chartered a vessel for sea-trade and engaged a blind pilot who by his great wisdom brought the ship back through immense perils of the sea and the merchants divided among themselves all the gold and silver, jewels, corals and diamonds that they had obtained during the voyage. This suggests partnership. We very often hear of 500 merchants or 100 merchants buying cargoes and selling goods.³ Thus there are enough references in the *Jatakas* to common ships for trading, common guard, and prevention of mutual under-selling, suggesting some sort of corporate partnerships.

Trade, both inland and external, was in a fairly brisk condition. Principal items of export were silk, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth-

cutlery, armour, brooches, embroideries, rugs,
Trade and Trade Routes. perfumes, drugs, ivory, ivory-works, jewellery
of gold and silver.⁴

In the *Sankha-Jataka* we find that a Brāhmaṇ merchant built and fitted a ship laden with merchandise of all sorts to "sail for the 'gold country'"⁵ [Burma and Siam].⁶ Inland trade-routes connecting Śravasti with Rājagṛha in the east and with the 'borders' as far as Takshashilā in the Gandhāra country in the north-west are referred to in the *Jatakas* in connection with caravans belonging to the rich merchants Anāthapiṇḍika of Śravasti.⁷ In the *Sutta-nipāta*⁸ we are told that roads from South and West converged at Kauśambi for goods and passengers coming to Kosala and Magadha.⁹ We gather

¹ Cowell's trans. Vol. I, pp. 239-40.

² Ib. p. 88.

³ *Chulla Sesha Jataka* I. 122; Jat. XI, 128.

⁴ *Buddhist India*, p. 98.

⁵ Jat. IV. 21.

⁶ Cowell's trans. note 1, p. 10.

⁷ Jat. I. 92; Ib. 377 f.

⁸ Verses 1011-13.

⁹ Early History of Kauśambi by the author, p. 7.

from the Vinaya texts that the terminus of the main river route from east to west along the Ganges was Sahajāti whence up the Jumna the route reached Kauśambi.¹

We get the name of one sea-port, Bharukachchha, explicitly mentioned as such in the Jātaka [IV. 137]. It is identified with the modern city of Broach in Kāthiāwād.

Ports and cities. Other sea-port in the Aparāntaka was Suppāraka mentioned in the Dhammapada, Commentary²

and in the Dipavamīsa [P. 54] and Mahāvamīsa [p. 63]. Dr. B. C. Law identifies it with Supāra or Sopara in the Thana district of Bombay [G.E.B. p. 58] the find-spot of a copy of Aśoka's XIV Rock Edicts. In the Suppāraka Jātaka, however, the name is applied to the master-mariner of a sea-port town. There are references to numerous river-ports, e.g. Kauśambi, Sahajāti, repartan cities like Ajodhyā [Ayojjhā] on the Sarayū, Śrāvasti (Sāvatthī) on the Rāptī, Kāśi on the Gaṅgā and Kauśambi, Madhurā or Mathurā on the Jumna, Potana [Capital of the Assaka country] on the Godavari.³ Situated on the banks of deep and navigable rivers these cities were large entrepôts of goods and traffic. In the Digha Nikāya we find that the six great cities of the time were Champā, Rājagṛīha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kausāmbī and Vārāṇasi.⁴ The Jātakas provide the names of other cities amongst which may be mentioned first Takṣaṇilā [Taxila], the greatest seat of learning of time, out of which such prominent scholars as Pāṇini, Jīvaka, Kauṭilya, graduated in their respective subjects. Besides this Assapura in the kingdom of Aṅga [Majjh. Nik., Vol. I, p. 271], Vesālī [Vaiśālī], the capital of the Lichchhavis, Kusinārā,

the capital of the Mallas, Ujjeni, the capital
Ujjain. of Avanti, Kapilavastu, the capital of the
Śākyas, Mithilā, the capital of the Videhas,
Sāgala or Sākala [Mod. Sialkot], the capital of the Madra

¹ Ib.

² Dh. C. II, p. 210.

³ Sutta Nipāta, verse 977.

⁴ Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta [Digha Nikāya].

country¹ are some of the other towns mentioned in the early Buddhist literature.

Markets were held where goods could be sold and bought. Money as a medium of exchange supplementing the system of barter came into general use. The name of the coin used for marketing was *Kāshāpana* in Pāli literature and Markets and Medi Kāshāpanas in Sanskrit. The Kāshāpanas, the um of exchange, established coins of Ancient India, is fully known to Pāṇini [c. 500 B.C.]². It was struck both in copper and silver, with marks punched both in the obverse and reverse side of it. Mr. Durga Piasad who handled a large number of pre-Mauryan punch-marked coins has pointed out in his scholarly paper [JRASB, Numismatic Supplement, XLVII. p. 76] that the obverse punches generally show in different combinations the figures of sun, circle with arms, arrow-heads, taurine symbols, peacock, dog, tree or hill, elephant, bull, dog, rhino, frogs, and a 'sacred tree within a railing.' While the symbols on the reverse are only the marks of punching made by authorities and shroffs in checking them. The larger the number of these marks, the older must be the coin or greater its circulation. A copper Kāshāpana weighed 146 grains and a silver Kāshāpana of the pre-Mauryan type 'was struck on a standard of 100 rattis (=180 grains) as against a Mauryan coin of 32 rattis = 56 grains in weight' [Ib.]

III

FOREIGN INVASIONS

A. THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

During the period under review we have seen that the small kingdoms and republics of the North-East India were being gradually merged in the Magadha empire which extended as far as the western limits of the Madhyadesa during the reign of the Nandas.

¹ Kusa Jātaka, no. 531.

² V. 1. 21; 27; 29; 39.

But beyond it lay the North-West India [Uttarāpatha] parcelled out into small and warring states, at once wealthy and disunited, offering temptations to the powerful foreign powers beyond its frontiers. Two invasions took place. The first was the Persian invasion and conquest of Gandhāra and the Indus Valley, the second was the invasion and conquest of the Punjab by Alexander the Great.

About the middle of the 6th century B.C. the founder of the great Achaemenian empire Kurush or Cyrus [551—530 B.C.] led an expedition against India through Gedrosia. Cyrus, but, as Strabo says, 'had to abandon the enterprise, escaping with seven men only'¹. It appears he could not make his power felt beyond the Kabul Valley where, according to Pliny, he destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśī.²

But Dārayavaush or Darius [*c.* 522—486 B.C.], the third sovereign of the Achaemenian dynasty, was evidently more successful in his attempt at Indian conquests as his Behistun, Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions indicate. In the Behistun Inscription,³ we find, Gandāra or Gandhāra is mentioned in the list of his subject countries. In his Persepolis and the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions we find Sindhu [the Indus Valley] mentioned along with Gandhāra. Scholars have assigned the Behistun rock inscription to 518 B.C. at the latest and the Persepolis and the Naksh-i-Rustam Inscriptions to a period between 518 and 515 B.C.⁴ To this period, therefore, the conquest of the Indus Valley must be assigned. The above epigraphic evidence of the Persian conquest of India finds corroboration in the statements of Herodotus who in giving a list of twenty satrapies that Darius established states that the Indian realm was the 'twentieth division' and further adds that the Indians paid a tribute larger than all the rest—three hundred and sixty

¹ PHAI, p. 190.

² Ib.

³ D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 4.

⁴ C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 334.

talents of gold dust which is equivalent to a million pounds sterling.¹ In another passage [Hdt. IV. 44] he tells us that about 517 B.C. Darius sent a naval expedition under Skylax [Skylax] to explore the Indus. Skylax was a Greek adventurer in the court of Darius who evidently utilised his services in the exploration and ultimate conquest of the Indian province.

Evidently the Persian hold on the Indian satrapy remained intact during the reign of Khshayārshā [Xerxes], as his inscription in Persepolis² shows. In it are mentioned Gandhāra and Sindhu in the list of his satrapies. This is further proved

^{Xerxes}
c. 486-465 B.C. by the presence of an Indian force in his army which he marshalled to invade Greece. Herodotus [VII. 65] describes the equipment of the Indian forces in the army of Xerxes as follows : "The Indians, clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows and cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped in iron." It seems probable that Persian domination on the north-western borders of India remained up to the time of the last Achaemenian emperor Darius III, for, if Arrian is to be believed, Darius III employed also Indian troops when he fought his last battle against Alexander at Arabela in 330 B.C.³

Although the political domination of Persia touched only the fringe of India, the contact was not without its beneficial results to both countries in several aspects. As a matter of fact the

Indo-Persian relationship dates back to hoary antiquity, long before the Achaemenian conquest of the contact. Result of the Indian borderlands in the sixth century

B.C. The Aryan ancestors of the Hindus and Persians once formed an individual branch of the Indo-European stock. The students of the Veda and the Avesta find ample evidence of this historic relationship of the two peoples through "ties of common Aryan blood, close kinship in language and tradition, and through near affinities in the matter of religions

¹ Ib. p. 335 ; Cf. Herodotus III, 94.

² Select Inscriptions, p. 14.

³ CHI, Vol. I. p. 341.

beliefs, ritual observances, manners and customs."¹ A certain relationship is acknowledged to exist between the Vedic god Varuṇa and the Avestan deity Ahura Mazda, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism. There are points of kinship between the Indian Mitra and the Iranian Mithra and in less degree between the victorious Indra Vṛittabhan of the Rigveda and the all-triumphant Veitethraghna of the Avestan Yashts. There are also similarities between Yama and Yima or of the cognate use made by the Aryans and Persians of the sacred drink *soma* and *haoma* in their religious rites. Scores of such similarities and likenesses can be cited to prove the long-established affinity of the two peoples of Irān and India.²

The discovery in 1907 at Boghaz-Koi in North-Eastern Asia Minor of some cuneiform inscriptions lends epigraphic evidence of the statements given above. These documents give a record of treaties between the kings of Mitāni and of the Hittites about 1400 B.C. Among the deities called to witness are the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya [the two Aśvins] most of whom appear, as we have seen, in the Avesta.

As a result of the political contact due to the Achaemenian conquest of the Indus Valley other factors of this ancient relationship grew up. Trade and cultural exchange between the two countries received a fillip. Persian scribes introduced into India the Aramaic form of writing which later developed into the well known Kharoshṭhī found mostly in the tablets in the western parts of India. Some scholars also think that the pillared-hall of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra, his edicts on Rocks and Pillars and his bell-shaped capitals on Pillars owe their origin to the Persian influence in the Achaemenian period. In fact, the Mauryan art which reached its apex in the time of Aśoka, bears an undeniable stamp of the Persian art which in its turn, was to some extent influenced by contact with the Greeks in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.

¹ Ib. p. 319.

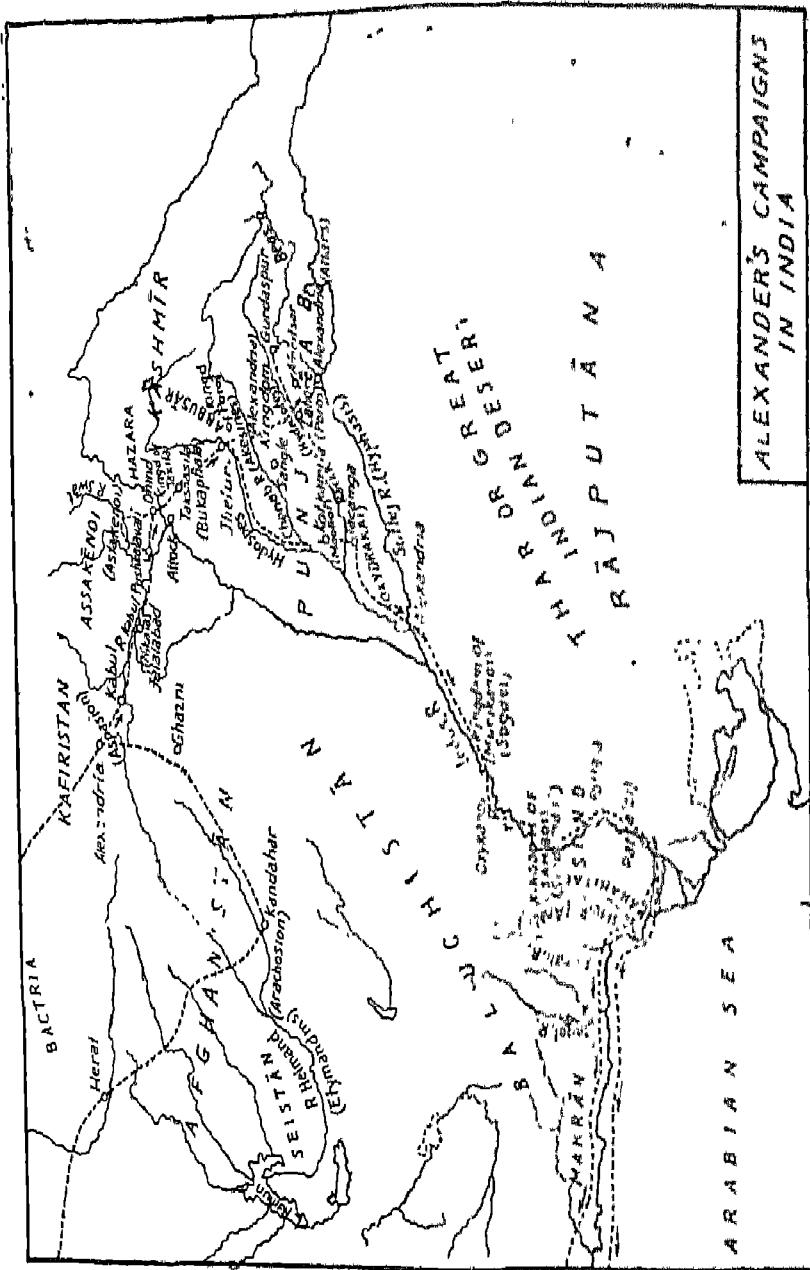
² Ib. p. 320.

B. ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN OF INDIA

To the Persians, Greece owes her first knowledge of India. The Persian Emperor Darius had both Greeks and Indians as his subjects. Indian troops formed a formidable Division of the army of Xerxes. They marched through the bloody desiles of Thermopylae and shared the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea. There was a cultural connection already established between Greece and India before the advent of Alexander in our country. Prof. Rawlinson writes a story¹ of the meeting of an Indian philosopher and Socrates based on a passage of Eusebeus [330 B.C.] which he recently came across. Alexander's companions testify to the fact that Alexander had heard much about Indian philosophers and hermits and was keen to meet some of them.

After beating down the last resistance of the Persian Empire in its easternmost province of Balkh [Bactria] Alexander planted a Greek colony in that beautiful country and made it the base of operations for his Indian attack. From Bactria he moved on to Kabul from where he prepared to march on India. Here he divided his forces. The bulk of his force he sent direct through the Khyber Pass. The Khyber Pass was not defended by any Indian power of the Punjab which was divided into many rival kingdoms and republics. Two well-known rulers of the Punjab were Ambhi, the Rāja of Taxila, who ruled the land between the Indus and the Jhelum and Porus [Paurava] who ruled the territory between the Jhelum and the Rāvi. If these two kings wanted, they could offer a combined and effective opposition to Alexander's main army at either end of the Khyber Pass or when the Greeks attempted to cross the Indus. But as fate would have it, these two powerful rulers of the Punjab were too jealous of each other to be able to combine to guard effectively the India's strategic pass, which, as history tells us, let into the country hordes of foreigners times without number unopposed, for lack of an organised national defence of our frontiers in ancient and mediæval times. Intent

¹ The Amrita Bazar Patrika, Weekly Magazine Section, November 22, 1936.



on seeking adventures, Alexander himself moved up the mountain tracts and river valleys, inhabited by fierce and war-like tribes who offered a dogged resistance to him. He fought with them many a bloody engagement in one of which his life was in grave danger. Unaffected with modern civilisation, their descendants living in the mountain homes in the north-west frontier retain even today the war-like nature and spirit of independence of their forefathers.

Marching along the route north of the Kābul river into the mountainous regions of the Kunar and Swat Valleys he met for the first time with the opposition of an Indian people called the

Asvakas [Gr. Assakēnoi] who lived in the middle

Opposition of the of the Swat Valley and offered a stiff and dogged Mountain Tribes : resistance to the Europeans. At one place Alex-

ander was wounded and the whole population was put to the sword in revenge. The Asvakas having been defeated in several battles on the field finally

Fall of Massaga fell back on their strongly fortified citadel,

Massaga which was taken by Alexander after an exceptionally ferocious and bloody battle after their chief Assakēnos was killed being struck by a missile from one of the European siege guns.

A little west of the Asvakas and on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor lived the aristocratic republic of the Nysacans who claimed descent from Dionysus known in Greek

The Nysacans heroic tales as the god of Bacchanalian revellers

and pointed out to the invader the similarity of their name to the birth-place of their ancestor at Nysa¹ and the abundance of the sacred plants of the god, the vine and ivy. Alexander gladly acknowledged their kinship and allowed his weary troops to take rest and participate in the Bacchanalian revels with their kinsmen.

In the meantime the other division of the Macedonians emerged into the plain of Peshāwār through the Khyber Pass about the end of 327 B.C. This region formed part of the kingdom of the Asta-

¹ Nysa was the name of either the nurse or the birth-place of Dionysus, C. I. I., Vol. I, p. 354.

kenoi¹ whose capital was Pushkalāvatī [Charsada] at the lower end of the Swat river. The Rājā instead of offering submission shut himself in his walled town. But the superior force of the invaders

beat him down and destroyed him.

^{Capture of}
Pushkalavati having reduced the tribes in the hills to the north

came down to Pushkalāvatī and set a Macedonian garrison in the town under an officer named Philip. He then moved to take possession of the various small towns between Pushkalāvatī and the Indus and struck the Indus at a point some distance above where the other division had already reached. Alexander, a part of his force floating down the river, joined his main army at a place called Ohind, 16 miles above Attock, where a bridge of boats for crossing the Indus was already constructed by his generals. The crossing was made without any incident as Āmbhi, the king of Taxila [Takṣaśilā] whose territory lay east of the Indus had already submitted and opened the gates of the city to welcome the invader. Alexander concluded a treaty of subordinate alliance with Āmbhi and confirmed him in his possession of his territory. At Taxila, Alexander received

^{the report of a number of Indian ascetics}
^{Indian ascetics} practising their *tapasyā* and sent one of his

officers, Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, to invite them to meet himself. Onesicritus himself writes, as found in Strabo, that he found fifteen ascetics some ten miles from the city, sitting naked and motionless in a sun so burning that one could not even walk over the stones with bare feet. He communicated to the ascetics that the Yavana king would like to learn their wisdom. One of the ascetics said bluntly 'no one coming in the bravery of Europeans clothes—cavalry cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots such as the Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that, he must strip naked and bear to sit on the hot stones beside them.'² Another praised Alexander for his desire to know something of the deep wisdom but said that it would be difficult

¹ Ashṭakas?

² Ib. p. 358; Cf. Strabo XVI. C. 715.

for them to teach and for him to understand their teaching through mere interpretations. On being asked by him whether there were any such teaching among the Yavanas, Onescritus told them of Pythagoras, Socrates and his old master Diogenes. The Rājā of Taxilā ultimately persuaded one of these ascetics to accompany Alexander in worldly clothes to the great chagrin of his fellow ascetics. Greeks came to call him Kalanos probably because they had heard the word 'Kalyāṇa' [lucky] when he exchanged greetings with his countrymen.¹

Having been feted and toasted at Taxila and supplied with forces and provisions by its King Āmbhi, Alexander moved on eastward and reached the bank of the Vitastā [Hydaspes, mod.

The Battle of Jhelum]. At this point Alexander met with his first and strongest opposition from an Indian Hydaspes

power. King Porus, the Paurava king of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenāb² prepared to meet King Porus the invader on the banks of the Hydaspes

[Jhelum]. He sent for help to the rājā of Abhisāra, the country east of the Upper Jhelum, bordering on modern Kashmir. But that king prevaricated pending the issue of the battle. Nothing daunted, the brave Indian king, whose memory should be worshipped as one of the heroes of Indian history, arranged his troops to prevent the crossing of the river. So formidable did the Indian army appear to Alexander who was encamped on the other side that he did not attempt the crossing directly in the face of the brave and determined enemy. So

The crossing days passed without any engagement. One dark night which was particularly bad with rain and thunder Alexander silently moved with his army some seventeen miles away from the Indian camp opposite, leaving his own camp outwardly intact with lights burning, and men singing to deceive the enemy. Taking advantage of a bend and using a bushy island as a

¹ Ait. VII. 2. 4; Strabo. C. 174 f.

² Greek = Askini, known in Skt. literature as the Chandrabhāgā.

cover Alexander crossed the river¹ with about 11,000 of his picked men. It was an unwelcome surprise to Porus who, however, without losing courage, dispatched his son with rather an inadequate force of 2,000 men and 120 chariots. It was unwise of Porus to send such a small force. The young prince did not lack courage, but was easily routed and killed.

Porus himself now moved to offer battle. "He had with him as the Greek writers tell us, 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, 13,000 chariots and 130 elephants. The line of battle-front was drawn up as follows: The elephants in the

The Battle centre; the line of foot lay behind and on each side of the elephants; cavalry was stationed to guard either flank, with chariots in front of them. The Indian army waited for the attack of the enemy who started it with the mounted archers upon the Indian left and plied the cavalry with their arrows which could not be adequately replied to by the Indian archers because of the rain-sodden soil on which they could not get a firm rest for their long bows. For the same reason the chariots also proved useless as they, to quote Curtius, 'kept sticking in the muddy sloughs for the rain (of the previous night) and proved almost unable.'² The attack was followed by a cavalry charge by Alexander himself which created utter confusion in the Indian ranks. Indians, however, fought with great courage and vigour and as Plutarch says, 'obstinately maintained their ground till the eighth hour of the day.' Thus partly due to superior leadership of Alexander and partly due to the unfortunate rain of the previous night the battle was lost to us. The great Paurava king who led the battle from the back of a huge elephant which matched his great stature did not take to flight even when his army was routed

¹ It is not clear from the Greek accounts whether Alexander moved up or down river. It is, however, probable, as the current was strong and silence was imperative, that he would rather glide down than move up the river for the crossing. But the exact point of crossing can be fixed with certainty only if the location of the bend of the river and the forested island which was used as a cover can be positively found.

² Curtius, VIII, p. 208.

and he himself received several gashing wounds in his body. He fought to the last and was ultimately taken prisoner in a weak and fainting condition due to loss of blood. Alexander was so impressed with the gallant fight of the brave royal patriot, now his prisoner, that he treated him with courtesy and generosity. He not only restored him his old kingdom but added to it the districts he acquired farther east and made him his friendly ally.

Having founded two towns, one called Nicaea on the field of battle to celebrate his victory, and the other, Bucephala, to commemorate the death of his faithful horse of the same name,

Alexander advanced into the region between the Hydaspes [Jhelum] and Asikni [Chenāb].
The Political condition of the On the eastern bank of the Chenāb lived a people Punjab whom the Greeks call Glauganikai who had

hitherto retained independence against Paurava.

Dr. Jayaswal identified them with the *Glauchukāyana* found in the *Kāśikā*, a commentary of the *Pāṇini*. Dr. Raychaudhuri, however, doubts the identification and suggests some similarity with 'the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period.'¹ The name Sanakānikas as a people occurs twice in the Gupta inscriptions. First, in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta where they are mentioned along with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, etc., who were neighbours and once lived in the Punjab and had evidently moved east and south after they had lost their independence in their homeland. The Sanakānikas who are again mentioned in the Udayagiri inscription of the time of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, lived at that time in the region of modern Gwalior [Central India]. It may be that the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period may have been known as the *Glauchukāyana* in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C. when the Greeks came and called them Glauganikai. They had, as Arrian says, thirty-seven walled towns, each containing between 5000 and 10,000 inhabitants.² They submitted before the superior force of the Macedonian army, and their principality was given to Porus.

¹ PHAI, p. 167.

² Arrian, V. 20. Mc Crindle's Invasion of Alexander, p. 112.

At this time news of the revolt of the subdued tribes west of the Indus against his Satraps Nikanor and Śasigupta and of the murder of the former reached Alexander Revolt and Sup-
pression who at once sent Philip to meet the situation. Philip who was then in charge of the Greek interests in the kingdom of Taxila suppressed the revolts. This was the first signal of the disruptive forces below the surface which overwhelmed the Greeks within a few years.

The Rājā of Abhisāīa, in the hills east of modern Kashmir, who was sitting on the fence, pending the issue of the battle with Porus now hastened his submission to Alexander, immediately after the suppression of the revolts with which he had The Raja of Abhisāīa submits no doubt secret sympathy. The presents sent by him to Alexander's camp included forty elephants.

A younger scion of the Paurava family, a nephew of the Great Junior Porus Porus, who ruled the territory east of the Chenāb, submitted and his territory, like that of the Glauganikai, was added to the realm of the Elder Porus.

The king pressed forward and by August 326 B.C. crossed the Rāvī [the ancient Parushnī or Irāvatī], which the Greeks called Hydriotes. Beyond this river dwelt a people whom the Greeks called *Adraistai* and who may have been the same as the Arishitas of Pāṇini or Adrias of the Mahābhārata.¹ Their capital Pimprama was reduced by Alexander.

The next people whom Alexander reduced in the region between the Rāvī and the Beas were the Kathaioi Kathaioi who probably represent the Sanskrit Kāṭha.

Their stronghold Sangala, to be located somewhere in the Gurudāspur district, was rased to the ground. Sangala stormed The citadel was bravely defended by the people as long as they could, 17,000 of the defenders dying by the sword.

¹ Mbh. VII. 159. 5.

The kingdom of Saubhuti [Gr. Sophytes] lay somewhere east of the Jhelum. He easily submitted to the Greeks and made friends with them. The Greek writers speak admiringly about the good custom of the people, their handsome appearance and the excellence of the administration. We have several coins bearing his name in Greek as Sophytes.

Marching eastward the Macedonian king reached the fifth and the last river of the Indus system—the Hyphasis [modern Beas] which branched off from the Sutlej [Śutudri] Halton the bank of the Beas and towards north and east at a point considerably Retreat above its course. Here he paused to take stock of the situation. East of this river lay the great empire of the Nandas of whose strength, wealth and splendour he had heard a good deal. His troops were weary and he had tasted the strength at the Hydaspes of a small but determined Indian power. He did not like to risk an encounter with a well-organised and powerful imperial power whose standing army, as found in the Greek records, far out-numbered his own. He determined to retreat from this point with his glory untarnished, before a defeat which would mean disaster to him. Having erected twelve huge stone altars to mark the limit of his Indian Campaign, he turned back, and following the same route came to the bank of the Hydaspes about the end of July 326 B.C.

Here he prepared a fleet and sailed down the river, protected on both banks by troops until he reached its confluence with the Akesines [Chenāb]. The two peoples who lived The Sivis about this region were the *Siboi*, [Skt. Śivis]¹ and the *Agalassians* [Skt. Agraśteṇis].

They offered gallant resistance, the former with 40,000 foot, and the latter with 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse, but were over-powered by Alexander who also suffered serious losses in his ranks. According to Curtius the Agastenians realising their desperate position “set fire to their houses, and cast themselves along with their

¹ Rigveda VII. 18. 7; Mbh. 130-31.

Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 381-82.

'wives and children into the flames'¹, a practice later followed by the Rajputs, is known in the mediæval history as *Jauhar*.

But the toughest opposition which Alexander met during his down journey was from the *Mallai* [Skt. Mälavas] and the *Oxydrakai* [Skt. Kshudrakas], after he glided further down the Hydaspes at its confluence with the Rāvī. Here

The Malavas and the Kshudrakas the two brave and independent republican peoples, the Mallai and the Oxydrakai, lived;

the former in the Doāb between the Chenāb and the Rāvī, and the latter east of the Rāvī. The two peoples, formerly at enmity with each other, now coalesced together and gathered an army of 90,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 900 chariots to face the common enemy. This was one of the early examples of the confederation of Indian republics for a specific purpose. The resistance offered by them was another bright spot in the history of Indian resistance to the foreign invader. Alexander received a serious wound when he assailed the stronghold of the Mallai which was taken after a bloody contest, followed by a ferocious massacre of men, women and children. The fall of the Mallai was naturally followed by the submission of the Oxydrakai. Alexander extended the satrapy of Philip to include their territories. Further down the river system Alexander passed through the territories of other tribes recorded in Greek accounts as *Ābastanoi* [Skt Ambashṭhas], *Xathroi* [Skt. Kshatri] and *Ossudioi*, identified with the Vasāti of the Mahābhāratā² who either submitted or were reduced by force. When he reached the last confluence where the Asiknī, carrying in it the waters of the other rivers, united with the Indus, Alexander halted and planted another Hellenistic city which marked the southern limit of the satrapy of Philip.

The country down the Indus below its last confluence was then Subjugation of the Lower Indus Valley. The Greeks record that here the Brahmins had a more effective ascendancy. In political organisation they found here princi-

¹ Curtius IX. 4

² PHAI, p. 173; Mbh. VII, 19. 11, 89. 37, VIII, 41. 19.

palities ruled by Rājās unlike the country of free tribes they just passed through. Alexander first received the submission of the king of *Sagdai* or *Andrai*. They are, according to Dr. Raychaudhuri, to be identified with the Śūdras of Sāṃskrit literature, a people constantly associated with the Ābhīras living near the now extinct Satasyati.¹

The greatest principality in this region was that of Mousikanas,
The Musikas the king of the Mūshikas who submitted after a brave resistance. His capital was Abor [Map No. 2].

Another chief whom the Greeks call Sambos [Skt. Śambhu?] was a neighbour of the Mūshikas. He easily submitted to Alexander. His capital was named Sindimana, identified with Selwan, a city on the Indus.

The last city which Alexander conquered in the Lower Indus Valley was Patala which as Diodorus Patala [XVII 104] says was remarkable for having a constitution like that of Sparta providing for two hereditary kings.² This region of the lower Indus Valley he constituted into a new Satrapy and placed Final Departure it under Python.

With this ended the military conquests of Alexander in India during his stay in the country for nearly two years from 326 B.C. to the autumn of the following year. In September 325 B.C. Alexander finally left the Indian soil. At Patala he made a division of his forces. One portion he sent by sea under Neachus. A second portion was to pass through the Bolan Pass under the command of Craterus. The third division he led himself through the most difficult and waterless region of Makran deserts. He joined his comrades in Persia after enormous suffering.

¹ PHAI, p. 173. Also Pātañjali 1, 2, 3.

² Mc Crindle—Invasion of Alexander, p. 296.

Alexander's Indian campaign had certain effects on the history of India. By destroying the independence of many tribal states in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander paved the way for Chandragupta to give to the north-west India a political unity, which it had lacked so far and then to link it up with the united Nanda Empire in the east which he inherited after a successful revolution.

Effect of Alexander's Invasion

Dr. Raychaudhuri truly remarks : 'If Ugrasena-Mahāpadma

north-west. Alexander's campaign opened up
of four distinct routes by land and sea, which brought India and
the west into closer contact with each other, facilitating trade
and cultural exchanges between them

Strabo [XI. 509] says that the Oxus [Amu Daria] joined a link in an important chain along which Indian goods were carried to Europe by way of the Caspian and the Black Sea. He cites Patrocles, who was an admiral in the service of Antiochus I, the son and successor of Seleucus Nikator, that the route was a popular one in the third century B.C. Evidence of the prosperity of Central Asia and a brisk trade with India at this period is also furnished by the coins of Greek models minted in Babylon and found in several hoards in the N. W. India.¹

The clearly dated records of Alexander's Indian campaign left by his companions helped to build Indian chronology for subsequent political events on a definite basis.

Besides, two other distant cultural effects of his campaign must also be noticed.

1. One of Alexander's motives of his world campaign was to spread Greek culture and civilisation in the conquered lands. For this purpose he planted many Greek colonies in Asia. One of these colonies was planted in Bactria. During the days of the weak successors of Asoka, the Greek kings of Bactria emulated Alexander's exploits by invading India and annexed considerable

¹ PHAI, p. 175.

² See C.H.I. Vol. i, pp. 433-34.

territories in the Punjab and the North-western India. One of the important contributions to Indian culture which these Indo-Greek or Indo-Bactrian kings made was the improvement of the Indian coinage. The coins of the Indo-Greek rulers discovered in Taxila replaced the older Indian punch-marked and ill-shaped ones, and the subsequent coins of India were cast on well-shaped Greek models.

2. During the reign of the great emperor Kanishka, Bactria was subject to Indian rule. He invited many Graeco-Bactrian sculptors to Gandhāra for making images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas which represent a blending of the Greek and the Indian art in image-making. The rise of this new type of sculpture, known as the Gandhāra school of Art, is another distant effect of Alexander's campaign in India and her border-lands.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAURYAN AGE, 400-200 B.C.

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

In the Mauryan Age we are ushered into a new era in the history of the country. In this age the whole of India was politically united for the first time under one head and rule. She also claimed supremacy over lands beyond the borders. She

Reflections on
the history of the
Mauryan Age

evolved a system of administration which for its efficiency and smooth-running claims admiration of even modern writers. She rose not only to

be a great political power in and outside India, but avenged her defeat at Hydaspes by defeating Greek armies on another battle-field. She became during this age the cultural ambassador of the world, sending out missionaries to spread India's civilisation and religion to all parts of the globe. Asoka's messengers of Dhamma to foreign countries fulfilled their mission by carrying out actual measures of humanitarian service in the relief of sufferings of all humanity. Its religious policy was broad-based on toleration and universal brotherhood which did not recognise natural frontiers or geographical boundaries. This is how Maurya India, through one of its greatest rulers, sought to build up a new world based on peace, brotherhood and cultural unity.

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA

C. 322—298 B.C.

The man who ushered this age in all its glory and splendour was Chandragupta Maurya. The parentage of this remarkable man is unfortunately still wrapped in mystery. His parentage

His Parentage and Early Life

hitherto accepted by many scholars including Dr. Vincent Smith is based on the Brâhmaic

literature which represents him to be an illegitimate scion of the royal Nanda dynasty and states that his dynastic name is derived from that of, his mother Murâ, a woman of 'lowly origin.' But according to *Pânini IV.* 1. 113; *Siddh. Kaum* 1116) the metronymic form of the son of Murâ' is *Maurah* and not, *Mauryah* which is the patronymic form

for the son of Maurya (IV. 1. 151 and *Siddh Kāum.* 1175).¹ But the Buddhist literature describes him to be a scion of the Moriya dynasty and a Kshatriya.² A passage in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya represents the Moryas as a ruling Kshatriya clan of Pippalivana.³ The Buddhist version appears to be more probable.

From the accounts found in the Mudrākshasa and the records of the Greek writers, e.g., Plutarch and Justin,⁴ and reconciling them with the Buddhist accounts of his parentage, we may reasonably construct a reliable account of his early life: Pippalivana which was an independent republic had lost its independence and was included in the Nanda empire which comprised the whole of Northern India as far as Kaliṅga in the south and the Beas in the west. All accounts agree that although a powerful ruler of a vast and wealthy empire, Mahāpadma Nanda was a very unpopular king on account of his extortions and anti-Brahmanical attitude. The ambitious young scion of the once independent clan of the Moryas or Mauryas took the leadership of the wide discontent. Having thus incurred the displeasure of the imperial court, he fled to the Punjab which was outside the realm of the Nanda rule. Here he met Alexander and gathered experience of war on a large scale. This stage of his life is exactly similar to that of Sher Shah who, a similar exile from home, had gained the same experience, having resided as a guest in the camp of Babur while the battle of Panipat was fought.

The political condition of the Punjab offered Chandragupta a great opportunity. As soon as Alexander left the Indian soil events moved unfavourably for the Greeks. The satrapal system

Liberation of the Punjab from the Persian model did not work well. Alexander's greatest Satrap Philip was murdered in 325 B.C. by Chandra-Gupta

The cause of this murder according to Arrian

¹ Read for detailed study the learned article of Mr. C. D. Chatterji on *Early Life of Chandragupta Maurya from Jaina Sources*, B. C. Law Vol. I, pp. 590—610.

² Mahāvastu [Pcl, Geiger] p. 30.

Divyāvadāna [Cowell and Neil's Edition] p. 370.

³ Dīg. Nik. [Mahāparinibbāna-Suttaṭṭha]

⁴ Life of Alexander, LXII.

was 'jealousy of the Greeks and Macedonians.'¹ But it may also be attributed to the discontent of the people with foreign rule.² Alexander instead of sending a new satrap in his place left the administration of the Satrapy to the King of Taxila. This was the first indication of the eventual relaxation of the Greek hold on the Indian conquests. Then happened in 323 B.C. the unexpected event of Alexander's death in Babylon which was immediately followed by a scramble for power among his generals. Two partition treaties dividing the empire among themselves were the result of the civil war. The first in Babylon in 323 B.C. and the second in Triparadisus in 321 B.C.

In the second partition treaty 'no part of India to the east of the Indus' was included as part of the empire. The Greek governor of Sind, Pithon was now removed, and placed in charge of the province between the Indus and the Paropanisus. Eudemos was the solitary Greek agent lingering on in India, but had no official position in the empire and is ignored in the partitions.³ This undoubtedly had to account for this that some leader of outstanding genius took up the leadership of the independence-loving peoples of the Punjab and drove the Greeks beyond the Indus before 321 B.C. when the second partition at Triparadisus took place. This leader and author of the liberation was Chandragupta. Among the Greek writers Justin alone refers to this event. He says: "India, after the death of Alexander had shaken, as it were, the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus."⁴

After the liberation of the Punjab Chandragupta turned his attention to overthrow the Nandas from the imperial throne of Magadha. For this exciting episode in the life of Chandragupta

our principal sources are the Indian literatures, Overthrow of which preserve the tradition of this great event. the Nanda King

The Brahman, the Buddhist and Jain books, all refer to it and agree on the fundamental fact that Chandragupta

¹ Arrian VI 27. 2.

² Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Chandragupta Maurya and His Times, p. 49.

³ Ib. pp. 50-51. Cf. Diodorus.

⁴ Justin, XV. 4. Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, Mc Crindle's translation, p. 7.

ousted the Nandas from the imperial throne of Magadha and established his own dynasty on it. This tradition preserved in the earlier books has been presented in a more graphic manner and in detail by the skilfully constructed drama, the *Mudrārākshasa* of Viśākhadatta, composed about the fifth or sixth century A.D. According to this drama his principal ally was Parvata. The suggested identification of Parvata with Porus by Dr F. W. Thomas is illuminating.¹ The reasons are obvious. Porus was the greatest power in the Punjab left as a trusted ally of Alexander and held territories which lay between the Upper Punjab and the portions of the Nanda empire. It was necessary that he should be won over as an important ally in the confederacy of which Chandragupta was the head before he could invade the Magadha empire. The dramatist makes Chānakya, the minister of Chandragupta, contrive the death of Parvata. But the deep offence which Porus gave to Eudemos, the representative of Greek interests still left in India, by this betrayal of his master's trust in him makes a stronger presumption in favour of the Greek account that it was Eudemos and not Chānakya who contrived his murder. The event took place in 327 B.C. long after. It may be said in favour of Porus that he was a patriot and had never accepted foreign supremacy with grace. Naturally, therefore, he easily joined the forces of Chandragupta who had distinguished himself as a successful organiser of the forces of liberation from the foreign yoke in the Upper Punjab and Sind. There is no doubt that the political intrigue of the highly intellectual Brāhmaṇ dipolomat Chānakya, the guide, philosopher and friend of Chandragupta, had much to do with the valuable alliance, or for the matter of that, with the conduct of the whole revolution. Tradition has it that the sensitive Brāhmaṇ had a personal grudge against the reigning Nanda. The details of the matter are not quite clear in the drama. But from independent evidences it is clear that many hard and bloody battles had to be fought before Chandragupta could destroy the Nandas and win the throne. We have already seen the military strength of the Nanda empire. A passage in

¹ C.H.I., Vol. I. p. 471.

the *Milinda pāñha*¹ states that "100 Kottis of soldiers, 10,000 elephants, 1 lac of horses and 5,000 chariots" were killed in action and that Bhaddasāla was the commander of Nanda's army. The figures of the casualties, though given in exaggerated terms, undoubtedly point to a bloody battle.

We may place the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha and the beginning of the Maurya sovereignty in C. 322 B.C. with reasonable certainty. Let Date of accession to the throne c. 322 B.C. us examine this question of date with the help of some available data:

A few important dates of impeccable certainty obtained from the Greek source are very helpful. In 325 B.C. Philip was murdered as a result of the revolt of the *Akavāns* against the Greek rule. In 323 B.C. Alexander suddenly died. The same year a scramble among his generals for share of his empire resulted in a partition of the same at Babylon. This was followed by a second partition of the empire at Triparadise in 321 B.C. In this partition treaty no mention was made of any Greek Satrapy east of the Indus. This shows that the Greeks were driven beyond the Indus and the whole of the Punjab and the C^o Indus regions were absorbed to a new Indian empire under Chandragupta by 321 B.C. The events leading up to this eventuality, namely, the liberation of the Punjab, the destruction of the Nandas, accession to the imperial throne of Magadha and the absorption of the Punjab and the Indus region took place in the two years between 323 B.C. when Alexander died, and the 321 B.C. when the second partition treaty at Triparadise was concluded. [The preparation for the war of independence having started with the murder of Philip in 325 B.C. even before Alexander left the Indian soil]. So the year 322 B.C. is the most probable date when Chandragupta ascended the throne of Magadha and followed it up by absorbing the liberated Punjab and the other Greek territories east of the Indus to his empire before the year 321 B.C. ran out.

¹ Pāli Text., p. 292.

The year 322 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession also finds corroboration from an examination of other evidences. An important Chinese record, known as the "Dotted Record"¹ kept in Canton, is the only available chronology, from year to year of the great event of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*. The dots were started presumably from the year of Buddha's death and were continued upto the year 489 A.D. when the total number of dots amounted to 975. If one year is allowed for the dots to be started, the year of *Parinirvāna* according to it was [975+1=489] 487 B.C. Now, according to the Pāli records 'Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after Parinibbāna [Mahāvarīsa, Geiger's note]. According to the same authority 'four years elapsed after his accession when he consecrated himself at Pātaliputra' [Ib. IV. 22]. Therefore, Aśoka's accession took place in 273 B.C. and his coronation in 269 B.C.

Now, if we take the two dates of 322 B.C. as the date of Chandragupta's accession and 273 B.C. as that of Aśoka's, as obtained from two independent sources discussed Puranic data above, they also admirably fit in with the indigenous Purānic records which give Chandragupta 24 years and to his son Bindusāra, a reign of 25 years, making Asoka's accession in [322—24+25] 273 B.C.

Chandragupta's military strength was soon tested. Seleukus Nikator, one of Alexander's generals in the east, made himself supreme in Western and Central Asia after a protracted struggle with his rival, Antigonus, another general of Alexander [312 B.C.]. The eastern provinces of his realm touched the borders of India and desiring to emulate the exploits of Alexander, he invaded India in 305 B.C. Chandragupta met him in battle and gave him a crushing defeat. The exact spot where the battle was fought is not mentioned in Greek records. But the fact of the Greek defeat can be gathered from the records of Strabo who states in detail the terms of the humiliating treaty which Seleukus was obliged to sign. By this treaty, Seleukus had to cede to Chandragupta the

¹ J. Takakusu, JRAS, 1896, p. 436 ff.

territories of Arachosia [Kandahar], Paropanisadae [Kabul], Gedrosia [Baluchistān] and Aria [Herāt]. Chandragupta treated his vanquished enemy with courtesy and generosity. He presented him with five hundred elephants and cemented his friendship with the Asiatic Greek monarch by a marriage alliance if Appian is to be believed.¹

Seleukus sent to the court of Chandragupta at Pāṭaliputra an ambassador named Megasthenes. Megasthenes was a keen observer of things and possessed an historical mind. The records of his observations about the court, the condition of the people of the country and the administration of the king are a valuable primary source of history of the Mauryan period.

There are no clear and direct contemporary records, either Greek or indigenous, of his wars and conquests in India, after his accession to the imperial throne, except the one Conquest of the South and West with the Greek king of Syria, Seleukus Nikator, already described. The fact that Aśoka found himself at his accession master of the land as far south as Mysore shows that Southern India up to the borders of the Tamil countries had already been conquered and annexed to the Mauryan empire. Aśoka's inscriptions at Siddhapura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara in the district of Mysore, the Govīmath and the Pālkigundū inscriptions in the Kopbul Taluk, the Maskī inscription in the Deccan in the Nizam's dominion, and the Gooti inscription in the Karnal district declare Asoka's sovereignty over almost the whole of the South except the southernmost Tamil countries of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Satya-putras and Keralaputras who according to Rock Edicts II and XIII lived beyond his frontiers. RE XIII further informs us that Aśoka's first and only conquest was Kalinga. Therefore, the question arises that if Aśoka did not conquer the South, who did it? There is, of course, the possibility that Bindusāra might have done it. His title of *Amitraghātu* [slayer of enemies] shows that he was not a pacifist like Aśoka and that it might have been earned by him by some of his conquests. The

¹ C.I.I. Vol. I. p. 431.

Arya Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa, a Mahāyāna work of about the 8th or 9th century A.D., the celebrated Jaina author Hemachandra [1200 A.D.] and the Tibetan historian Tārānātha [C. 1400 A.D.] state that Chāṇakya, the apostle of violence, outlived Chandragupta and continued as a minister of Bindusāra. According to Tārānātha "Chānakya accomplished the destruction of the nobles and kings of sixteen towns and made Bindusāra master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." This is all the evidence in favour of ascribing the conquest of the south and west to Bindusāra, as some scholars have done.

The testimony of Tārānātha can easily be disposed of by more authentic documentary records. The Girnar Rock inscription of Rudradāmana describes Sauvīṣṭra, the territory on the 'Western Sea' as a province of Chandragupta's empire, and R.E.XIII tell us that Aśoka himself conquered Kaliṅga, the territory on the 'eastern sea,' eight years after his consecration. So far as the South is concerned there is not the slightest reference anywhere that Bindusāra even went to the South. Moreover, we have somewhat discouraging evidence against Bindusāra's capacity as a conqueror. When his province of Taxila revolted he sent his son Aśoka to quell the revolt, instead of going himself, as a military leader would delight to do. The Greek accounts reveal that one of his chief delights in life was "figs and sweet wine" and discussion with 'philosophers.' This shows that he was a man of somewhat easy and leisurely temperament and that it was enough if he was able to leave intact the vast empire he had inherited without making additional conquests. So if it is true that Bindusāra did not conquer the South and that Aśoka inherited it, the conclusion is irresistible that Chandragupta had conquered it. Moreover we get some literary and epigraphic references of Chandragupta's connection with the South which we do not find about Bindusāra.

According to an early Jaina tradition recorded later in books¹ and epigraphs, the Jaina Pontiff Bhadrabāhu, in consequence of a severe famine in Bihar, led a migration of Jainas into the South. This is the beginning which later led to the great schism of the

¹ Br̥hat-Kathā-Kośa by Harisheṇa [C. 931 A.D.]
Bhadrabāhu-Charita by Ratnānand [C. 1450; Rājvalikathe].

Jainas into Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects. According to the *Rajavali-kathe*, Chandragupta, the "king of Pāṭaliputra," abdicated the throne in favour of his son and followed Bhadrabāhu as his disciple. He became his chief disciple, attended him at his death at Śravana [Śramaṇa] Belgola where he lived on as an ascetic for some years till he died of starvation according to Jaina practice.¹

That this tradition was believed to be true as early as 600 A.D. is proved by a southern epigraphic record of that year which associates Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta *Muni*. Two inscriptions of about 900 A.D. on the Kāverī near Seringapatam describe the summit of a hill called Chandragiri as marked by the footprints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandiagupta *Munipati*. A Śravana Belagola inscription of 1129 also has associated together Bhadrabāhu and Chandiagupta.²

In addition to this striking epigraphic evidence there is a significant monumental evidence. A small hill at Śravana Belagola, is called *Chandragiri*. The local tradition is that the hill is so called because Chandragupta lived and performed his penance here. On the hill is a cave called Bhadrabāhu and an ancient temple called Chandiagupta-Basti, because it was erected by Chandiagupta. The facade of the temple contains 90 sculptured scenes illustrating the events of the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandiagupta.³

From an examination of the evidences discussed above it reasonably follows that it was Chandragupta Maurya and not Bindusāra who conquered the South. This is further strengthened by a passage of Plutaich which states that "Androcottas [Chandragupta] overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000"⁴ Of course, this and the traditional and epigraphic records discussed above do not provide a direct evidence of Chandragupta's conquests of the South. But they are the only evidences, veiled

¹ R. K. Mookerji, Sir William Meyer Lectures 1940-41.

² Ib. p. 65.

³ Ib. p. 66.

⁴ Lives, Ch. LXII.

and indirect as they are, available for this historic event and may be accepted in view of the historical back-ground, and in the absence of any positive evidence against it. The historical back-ground is this : Chandragupta ascended the throne, as we have seen in 322 B.C. and the war he fought, and won against the Greek King, Seleucus Nikator, was in 305 B.C. How did he occupy himself this long interval between 322 and 305 B.C. There is no doubt that he was an imperialist and expansionist. In the political condition of India in those days, especially after a great dynastic revolution, and the consequent upheaval of the political status quo, to stand still was to invite disaster and downfall, for a newly established imperial power. Naturally, therefore, Chandragupta Maurya would look forward to expand and consolidate his power beyond the Vindhya. He had both the strength and inclination for it. Therefore, it seems more than probable that the Greek record that he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 ; a Tamil reference to the Mauryan war in the South,¹ the Jaina tradition and the epigraphic records of Chandragupta's long and intimate association with a portion of his southern territory—all these are based on fact, and in his wars and conquests must be included the war and conquest of the South.

There is just one other question to be examined. It may be that Chandragupta Maurya had not to conquer the South but found it a part of the empire he got as the successor of the Nandas. Dr. Raychaudhuri points out that 'the existence on the Godāvare of a city called Nau-Nanda Dehra suggests that the Nanda dominions embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan.'² We also know that the ancient Tamil literature mentions the Nandas and speaks of their fabulous wealth. In some Mysore inscriptions the Nanda rule is stated to have extended upto the province of Kuntala in the North of Mysore [Rice, Mysore and Coorg in Inscriptions, p. 3]. All these may point to the conquest of the South as far as Mysore by the Nandas. But does it preclude the idea that,

¹ S. K. Aiyangar—Beginning of South Indian History pp. 69, 81, 103.

² PHAI, p. 156.

even if the first Nanda, a powerful sovereign, had conquered the South, it had not fallen off from the Magadha empire and that Chandragupta had to conquer it again? The Khāravela Inscription speaks of the conquest of Kalinga by the Nanda King. Yet we know for certain that Kalinga had broken off from the Nanda rule and that Aśoka had to conquer it anew. Considering the unpopularity of the Nandas on account of their extortions it is more than probable that the Nanda sovereignty of the South was a short-lived one.

The ceded territories by the Greek king pushed the northern and north-western frontiers of Chandragupta's empire to the Hindukush and the borders of modern Persia respectively. In

Extent of Chandragupta's Empire. the South, it extended far beyond the Narbadā and the Vindhya hills deep into the Peninsula

as far South as Mysore [*supra*]. Thus the whole of India except Kashmir and Kalinga and the whole of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistān were included in his vast empire.

According to a Jaina traditional work¹ which has also been supported by two inscriptions of about 900 A.D.,² Chandragupta

His death. who was a Jaina abdicated his throne to go to the South. There he died about 298 B.C. after a reign of 24 years.

Chandragupta was a soldier, a statesman and an administrator of the highest rank. The details of his administration will be

An Estimate of Chandragupta. treated later under the head of Mauryan Organisation of state. As a soldier, he had given ample proof of his ability by defeating the Greek armies

under Seleukos. His statesmanship is proved by his vision which he afterwards realised by uniting a vast number of warring states under one political system and giving India, for the first time, a real political unity. Although by the law of the land he was an autocratic head of the state, he was no tyrannical despot and never misused the vast power he exercised

¹ I.A. 1892, 157.

² PHAI., p. 197.

Dr. Vincent Smith's remarks, inspired by Justin's records, that he was a stern despot, ruling his kingdom with 'untempered autocracy' and 'oppressing the people with severity' are exaggerated and cannot be accepted as sober truth. Those remarks may refer to the severity of Chandragupta's criminal code and to certain high exactions. The unsettled conditions of the time, his constant wars and the establishment of an efficient system of Government needed, however, both severity and money.

But that he was no despot like Darius of Persia, that his policy was to consolidate the strength of Āryāvarta and not to create an autocracy after the Persian model, that the republican form of Government which obtained among many of the Aryan tribes was not suppressed nor the traditional rights of the village communities or their power of local self-government ignored in spite of establishing a highly organised bureaucratic Government, and that he behaved like a constitutional monarch bound by the common law of Āryāvarta, is eloquently testified to by the great historian Havell. That he had the good of his subjects at heart is evident from a highly efficient system of administration which effectively maintained internal peace, from his personal attendance to the details of business of state, his regularity to hold the court to administer justice in which work he sometimes 'sat all day, not suffering himself to be interrupted, even though the time arrived for attending to person,'¹ the attention he gave to hospitals, sanitation, famine and poor relief and countless other works of public benefit and public utility². His subjects found perfect liberty in law and religion. There is no mention of religious persecution of Chandragupta in the books of rival faiths. His marriage with a foreign princess was a daring innovation in Hindu society and is another convincing proof of the greatness and liberality of his mind.

BINDUSARA 298--273 B.C.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra in 298 B.C. Bindusāra's title Amitaghlāta [Slayer of Foes] suggests that he was

¹ Megasthenes' Indika, frag. XXVII.

² Kautilya's Ārthaśāstra, Shamasastri's translation p. 43.

not a pacific ruler. It is probable that he had to fight many battles to keep the vast empire he inherited intact.

He kept up friendly relations with the Greek powers of Asia. The King of Syria Antiochus I sent to his court an ambassador named Deimachus. The Ptolemy King of Egypt Foreign Relations also sent an envoy Dionysius. Bindusāra is said to have asked Antiochus to send to his court sweet wine, figs and a sophist [Philosophē]. The Greek monarch of Syria sent him sweet wine and figs but not the philosopher with the message that the law of the land forbade purchase of a sophist.

The Province of Taxila revolted during Bindusāra's reign on account of the highhandedness and wicked rule of his officers. Bindusāra sent Aśoka to put down the rebellion and establish peace in which task he succeeded so well that he was Revolt of Taxila appointed Viceroy of that place to rule over his north-western Provinces. From there he was later transferred to the viceroyalty of Ujjain.

AŚOKA 273—236 B.C.

Aśoka was Viceroy of Ujjain when his father died. According to the Ceylonese traditions his coronation did not take place until four years after his father's death, and that during this interlude

*Early years of
Aśoka* there had been a long and bitter fratricidal war of succession in which his elder brother and rival claimant Susīma was defeated and killed.

The Buddhist records of Ceylon state that Aśoka massacred his ninety nine brothers to possess the throne, and spared only one, the youngest namely Tishya. This story is refuted by his inscription [RE. V.]¹ which speaks not only of one brother, but of several brothers, sisters and other relations living in the thirteenth year of his reign in Pāṭaliputra and in other towns of his

¹ According to Dr. Raychaudhuri the fifth RE. refers only to the female establishments of Aśoka's brothers; it proves nothing, regarding the authenticity or untrustworthiness of the Ceylonese accounts. PHAI, p. 204.

empire. Although Aśoka's inscriptions primarily speak of the Dhamma and of his life and career after he became a Buddhist, yet it is possible to glean from them some other facts of his earlier life, both in his private and public career.

Aśoka had his *avarodhana* or close female apartments [Ib.] How many queens he had we do not know, but that he had at least two is clear from the Queen's Edict on the Allahabad pillar which speaks of his 'second Queen' *Karu Vāki* and of her son 'Tīvara.' From his epigraphic records we also gather that he had at least four sons, each of whom was in charge of four Viceroyalties of Takṣaśilā [Taxila], Ujjent, Suvarṇagūḍi and Tosali. The RE. VI clearly specifies how Aśoka spent his leisure hours when he had no business of state to dispose of. He spent the time in banqueting in the dining hall, or in the harem chatting in the inner chamber, or riding, or inspecting the studs, or walking in the pleasure gardens. Before he became a Buddhist and stopped animal slaughter and taking of animal food, he was very fond of the chase and of taking the peacock's flesh. That the people of the Middle Country to which Aśoka belonged preferred the pea-fowl is stated by Buddhaghosha in his commentary of the *Samyutta Nikāya*.¹ The RE. VIII suggests that he gave up *Vibāryātrās* in which the pleasures of the chase were the principal diversion and replaced them by *Dhamma-yātrās*, i.e., tours for Dharma or holy pilgrimages. The RE. I. informs us that unlike previous kings Aśoka discouraged the kind of *Samājas* held by his predecessors. One mode of public entertainment held by kings of that time was the celebration of the *Samāja*. The *Samāja* was of two kinds. In one the people were treated to dainty dishes in which meat played the most important part. In the other, they were treated to dancing, music, wrestling and other performances. Aśoka condemned such *Samājas* and substituted them by arranging for exhibitions of heavenly scenes [RE. IV].

Eight years after his coronation Aśoka conquered Kalinga, The Kalinga War a country on the Bay of Bengal which lying between the Vaitarani and Languljya rivers

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar—Aśoka, p. 16.

was a sort of wedge in the eastern possessions of his empire from Bengal to the Krishnā and Godāvāri.

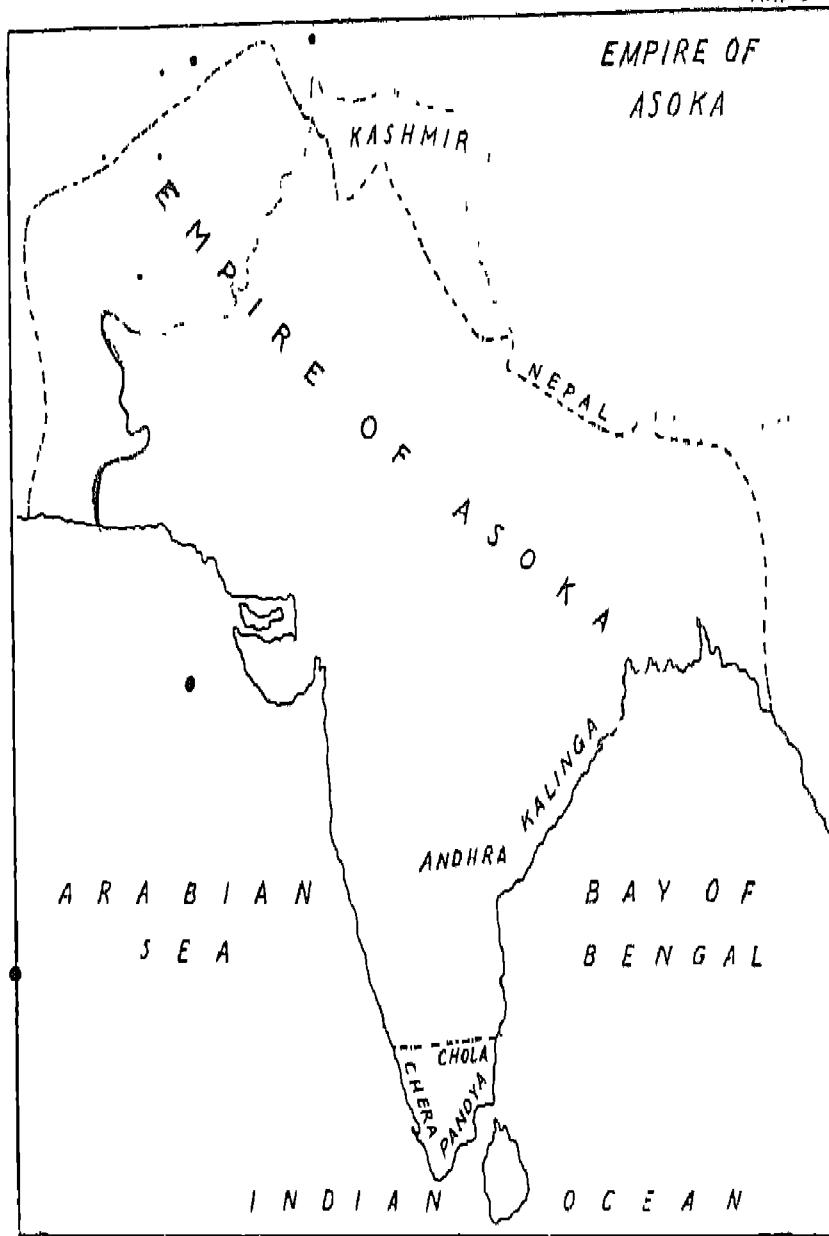
That was the only conquest Aśoka made after he became king. The horrors and the miseries of this war he vividly describes in his inscription [RE. XIII] which states that as many as 100,000 were slain and 150,000 were carried away as captives. Surely this appalling carnage made such a deep impression on his mind that from that moment he sheathed his sword and took up the Wheel of Law. The conquered country was constituted into a Viceroyalty under one of his sons stationed at Tosali, probably made in Dhauli, in Puri district. "The conquest of Kalinga was a great landmark in the history of Magadha. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra's annexation of Anga. It opens a new era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and perhaps of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Digvijaya was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dhammavijaya was about to begin."¹

Aśoka's records on rocks and pillars as well as the find spots of those inscriptions provide the internal and external evidence of the extent of his empire. One copy of his Fourteen Rock Edicts

Epigraphic evidence on the southern confines of his dominions namely, of Asoka's Empire at Yerraguḍi in the Karnāl District of the Madras Presidency and two sets of his Fourteen Rock Edicts found at Dhauli in Puri district and at Jaugāda in the Gañjām district indicate the extent of his south and south-eastern dominions. The discovery in 1903 by Mr. Lewis Rice of three copies of Minor Rock Edicts in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore proves that northern Mysore was included in his southern dominions. That northern, north-eastern and north-western dominions included Nepal, Tehri-Garhwal, the Punjab, and the whole of the North-Western Frontier Province is proved by the discovery of his Pillar Edict at Lumbinī and the Rock Edicts at Kalsī, Shālibāzgarhi

¹ PHAI, pp. 207-8.

MAP 3



and Mansehiā. A copy of the Fourteen Rock Edicts found at Junāgadh in Kāthiāwār, and another copy at Sopārā in the Thānā District about thirty miles north of Bombay indicate the western limit of his empire which touched the Arabian Sea.

Rock Edict XIII mentions the outline of the Frontier Provinces of his empire. They are the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Rāshṭrikas, Bhojas, Pitinikas, Andhias, Nābhās, Nābhapamītis, and Pāumādas. The territory inhabited by the Yonas or Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras refer to his north-west frontiers and is located by Dr. Bhandarkar between the Cophen and the Indus rivers.¹ The Mahāvāriśa calls the chief city of the Yona territory Alasanda which Geiger identifies with the town of Alexandria near Kābul.²

The territory of the Gandhāras included also the Jān-Indus region, the capital of which was Pushkalāvatī, identified by Comaraswamy with the site known as Bālā Hisāt at the junction of the Swāt and Kābul rivers.³ The Bhojas apparently dwelt in Berar and the Konkan and the Rāshṭrikas in Mahārāshtra.⁴

The Bhojas according to Dr. Bhandarkar, lived in the Thānā and Kolābā districts of the Bombay Presidency.⁵ Pitinikas were probably the people living in Piatisṭhāna [Paithan] at the mouth of the Indus. The Nābhapamītis of Nābhaka must be looked for, states Dr. Bhandarkar, somewhere between the north-west Frontier Province and the western coast.⁶ But Dr. Buhle suggests that the Nābhaka of Aśoka's edict is Nābhikapura which according to the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa is in the Uttarākuru or some trans-Himālayan region. Dr. Bhandarkar seems to refute this identification.⁷

¹ Aśoka, p. 30.

² PHAI, p. 208; Geiger's, Mahāvāriśa p. 194.

³ PHAI, p. 208.

⁴ Ib. p. 213.

⁵ Aśoka, p. 35.

⁶ Ib. p. 33.

⁷ Ib.

The country of the Andhras and Andhradeśa is the region between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī Districts. With regard to 'Pātimdas' there is a controversy. Some scholars read it 'Palida' [Vide, Shahbazgaihi and Kalsi copies of R.E. XIV] and identify it with Pulinda mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [VII. 18]. Dr. Raychaudhuri, for instance, accepting this view, places Pulindas somewhere in the Vindhyan region and their capital not far from Bhilsā, possibly identical with Rūpnāth, the find-spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict.¹ But Dr. Bhandarkar, accepts the reading of the Guṇar copy and reads the word as Parīndas and by clever reasoning places them in the country occupied by the Bārendras, i.e., north and east parts of modern Bengal.

Kashmir which is also a frontier province is not mentioned by name in his inscriptions. Perhaps it was conquered by Aśoka when he was Viceroy of Taxila and was included in that viceroyalty, for Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the only source hitherto known for this fact does not mention the name of Chandragupta, but clearly mentions that of Aśoka as a reigning monarch of Kashmir.² The Kalsi Rock inscription, the Lumbini Pillar Edict and the monuments of Lalitapāṭan provide epigraphic evidences of Aśoka's dominion in Kumaun and Nepal. Besides a number of vassal tribes in the extreme south, south-east as well as a number of Āśavi or forest districts³ completed the picture of Aśoka's empire.

This big empire of Aśoka which surpassed in extent any other Indian empire that followed was parcelled out into four great viceroyalties, each under a Kumāra or a royal prince. The vice-

The Four Viceoyalties: The viceroyalty of Taxila ruled the northern region of his empire, that of Tosali, the southern. The viceroyalty of Ujjain ruled his western province and Pāṭaliputra which was also the imperial capital took care of the eastern region or the home province.

¹ PHAI, p. 212; also Corpus of Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 48.

² Rājatarāṅgiṇī, translated by R. S. Pandit, p. 20.

³ Probably of Mid India.

- Rock Edict XIII gives us an idea of the relations that Aśoka had with the neighbouring foreign powers in and outside India.

There were four independent Tamil states Foreign Relations in the Far-South with which Aśoka kept friendly relations and where his missionaries entered to preach the doctrines of Buddhism. These states were Chola,¹ Pāndya,² Satyaputra³ and Keralaputra.⁴ The foreign sovereigns mentioned in the edict are the Greek rulers of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Epirus with dates of the period of reign of each. Thus the edict supplies a valuable chronological evidence of the history of the reign of Aśoka who was a contemporary of those rulers. Like his predecessors, Aśoka maintained friendly relations with all of them. He sent Buddhist missionaries to these states and established many philanthropic institutions in their dominions. That the island kingdom of Ceylon and that of Suvarnabhūmi [Burma] were also friendly to him is proved by the fact that he sent missionaries to both places. The Ceylonese mission was headed by prince Mahendra. The names of the Buddhist missionaries sent to the independent states of India can be gathered from the Ceylonese Chronicles.

AŚOKA AND BUDDHISM

Aśoka is famous in history as a great Buddhist ruler and a patron of Buddhism. He devoted his time, energy and the resources of the state to the spread of Buddhism in and outside India. Buddhism laid stress on practical piety—good and moral actions and pure conduct. By precept and example, by administrative measures, moral edicts and through missionary activities financed by state, Aśoka succeeded in making Buddhism the most popular religion in India and spreading it abroad. He succeeded in inculcating the instructions in the Laws of Piety in his subjects and thereby elevating their moral and spiritual life.

¹ Trichinapalli and Tanjore districts,

² With Madura as capital,

³ Kāñchipura.

⁴ Chera,

His life was one of dedication in the service of Buddhism. He gave up hunting and the taking of animal food. By a royal edict, he forbade the slaughter of animals for the royal kitchen [RE. I].

Rock Edict VIII informs us that he stopped Personal Examples Vihāra-Yātrās or pleasure trips for chase and other sports in which former kings frequently indulged and replaced them by Dhamma-Yātrās or religious tours. There are epigraphic evidences of his pilgrimages to Bodh-Gayā¹ in the tenth and Lumbini and Nigliva in the twentieth year of his reign.² Aśoka remained a lay disciple for two years and a half and then probably joined the Monastic Order assuming the monastic garb and rule of life.³ Even though he did not abdicate, he carried the business of the state with the zeal and spirit of a Buddhist monk.

Aśoka gave the widest publicity to the ethics of Buddhism as far as it lay in his power under the conditions of the time.

Royal Edicts on Buddhism He engraved a series of edicts on rocks and pillars throughout his vast empire. The chief purpose of these edicts was instructions in the ethics of Buddhist religion, i.e., instructions on the mode of life according to the ethics of Buddhism. For instance, the Minor Rock Edict II lays stress on obedience to father and mother, respect for living creatures, truthful speech, reverence of the pupil to the preceptor, RE. XIII in addition to what is contained in RE. II lays stress on proper behaviour and steadfast devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions, relatives and to servants and slaves. Rock Edict VII lays stress on self-restraint, purity of heart and knowledge.

¹ R.E. VIII.

² Rummindci and Nigliva Pillar Inscriptions.

³ The two Minor Rock Edicts, the Brahmagiri Inscription and the Bhabru Inscription suggest the probability of his entering the Samgha as a full monk after two and a half years of his conversion. Long afterwards the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing saw a statue of Aśoka in the garb of a monk. But it is certain that he never abdicated his throne but carried on the business of State until his death, even though he may have donned the monk's garment.

Aśoka's administrative measures in the cause of the Law of Piety or Dhamma were many. Respect for animal life was taught and enforced by several royal edicts. He first prohibited slaughter of animal life for the royal kitchen, for Samājas, or congregational dinners provided by the state. [RE.I]. By PE.V. he greatly restricted the slaughter of animals by the public. He made equally good arrangements for men and beasts. Medical herbs for both men and beasts, wherever lacking, were imported or planted [RE. II]. He informs us that he planted banyan trees and mango groves for both shade and enjoyment for men and beasts [Ib.] PE. VII states : "Proclamation of Dhamma will I proclaim. Instructions on Dhamma will I instruct. Men harkening thereto will conform (to it), will be uplifted and will grow with the growth of Dhamma."

He not only practised charity on a large scale but encouraged the members of the royal household and the public to practise it according to established rules of Buddhist ethics. In fact the entire Monastic Order was maintained by state and public charity or *bhikṣhā* from which perhaps the monks derived their name of Bhikshu. Pillar Edict VII informs us that he employed a class of superior officers called Mukhyās for the distribution of charity both on his own account and that of queen and the princes. The Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Pillar refers to such charity of his second queen Kālī Vākī whose gifts included mango-gardens, pleasure-groves, alms-houses and other things. The object of these charitable gifts 'mango-oislands,' wells at convenient distances on high roads, 'watering-shades' etc., were practical expressions of the spirit of Dhamma. Aśoka states in his Pillar Edict VII, "I have done this with this intent, namely, that they [mankind] may practise such practices of Dhamma."

As a corollary to his religious edicts was the appointment of Dhamma Mahāmātras. RE. V. informs us that in the thirteenth year of his consecration, he employed Dhamma Mahāmātras "for the establishment of Dhamma, promotion of Dhamma and for the welfare

and happiness of those devoted to Dhamma." Dr. Vincent Smith renders the term Dhamma Mahāmātras as 'Censors of Law of Piety.' The name censor does not sound very happy and did not fit in with their functions which were not so much as spying and reporting breaches of moral or religious laws as Dr. Smith seems to suggest by his rendering, as teaching and guiding and otherwise helping men to practise the Law of Piety enjoined by the edicts. They were entirely a new set of officers employed by Asoka for the first time for the promotion of Buddhism.

The Buddhist tradition, as recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicles, states that a Buddhist saṅgha was convened in the city of Pāṭaliputra under the presidency of the learned monk Moggaliputta

Tissa, eighteen years after Asoka's coronation

The General Council at Pataliputra and Edicts on Schism, c. 251 B.C.

and 236 years after the death of the Buddha. The authenticity of the council should not be rejected, as has been done by some scholars.

In the Bhabru Edict, we find that he sent a message to the saṅgha of the Bhikshus in which he styles himself as Māgadha [King of Magadha] addressing the Bhikshus. Dr. Bhandarkar rightly suggests that because many of the assembled Bhikshus did not belong to his empire, it was thought necessary for Asoka to introduce himself to them as King of Magadha.¹

The inscription contains: "The Priyadarśin of Magadha, having saluted the saṅgha, wishes them good health and comfortable movement." Those words were undoubtedly greetings of welcome wishing health and bodily comforts during their stay as his guests. Then follow these lines "You know, Reverend Sirs, how great are my respect and kindness towards Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Whatever, Reverend Sirs, has been said by the Blessed Buddha—all that has been well said. But Reverend Sirs, if I may point out (anything) in order that Sublime Dhamma may thus endure long, I deem it proper to speak out. Reverend Sirs, these are the texts of Dhamma." He names them and almost everyone of these has been identified to

¹ Asoka, p. 102.

have belonged to the Buddhist Canonical texts, e.g. the Sutta-Pitaka and Vinaya Pitaka. Then he continues: *These texts of the Dhamma, Reverend Sirs, I desire the majority of Monks and Nuns to constantly listen to and meditate upon.*¹ The italicised words [italics are mine] suggest that there was a schism due to false teaching of certain monks and nuns and that he [Aśoka] was anxious that the sublime Dhamma may endure and that the monks and the nuns by majority should accept the true facts of the Dhamma.

Aśoka's Minor Pillar Edicts at Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī and Sāñchī contained orders to his Mahāmātias to punish schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha or Church and were probably issued after the deliberation of the Buddhist Saṅgha at Pāṭaliputra.

Aśoka's activities for the dissemination of the Dhamma were not confined to the empire but were extended to independent states in India and to foreign countries. He sent

Foreign Buddhist Buddhist missionaries to the Tamil states of the Missions South, Ceylon, Buīma, the Greek kingdoms of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epius.

According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the mission to Ceylon was headed by Mahendra and Samghamitrā. Mahendra was a son of Aśoka and Samghamitrā his daughter. The island king Tissa welcomed the mission which was crowned with complete success. But the same cannot be said about the mission to Suvaina Bhūmi [Lower Buīma], for we know that the people there follow the Mahāyāna Buddhism patronised by Kanishka which is different from Aśoka's Buddhism, namely Hinayāna.²

¹ Bhabu RE. [Bhandaikar's rendering]. On this edict Aśoka recommends to the monks and nuns of the saṅgha the following seven selected passages for the purpose: 1. Vinaya-samuk-kasa Sutta. 2. Aliya Vārṣasā, 3. Anāgata bhayas. 4. Muni-gāthā 5. Moneya Sutta, 6. Upatisa-pasina and 7. Rāhulavāda. All these passages except Nos. 1 and 6 have been satisfactorily identified to have belonged to the texts of the Tripiṭaka.

² For difference between the two schools, see supra, p. 59.

Although Asoka was an ardent Buddhist and devoted himself sincerely to the propagation of the Buddhist faith, he showed wonderful toleration to all other religious sects. His Toleration In RE. XII. Asoka declared that "he honours [men of] all sects, etc." He further states in the same that "there should not be honour to one's own sect or condemnation to another sect.....On the contrary other's sects should be honoured on this and that occasion. By so doing, one promotes one's own sect and benefits another's sect." Wonderful words these, an object lesson for many a communalist fanatic of the present day India! Another great emperor of India, Akbar, followed in the footsteps of Asoka and brought the two great religious communities of India, Hindus and Muhammadans nearer each other and we had in those days none of the ugly communal or sectarian riots which now bring sorrow and shame to the fair name of India and the Indian nation. That Asoka was sincere in his proclamations is proved by the fact that he constructed and dedicated for the use of an ascetic sect called Ajivika several caves in the Barabar Hills near Gayā.¹ The Ajivika sect was a Brahmanical Order.

ASOKA'S INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions of Asoka are an important and very reliable source of the history of his reign. Although these inscriptions were primarily meant to be ethical and religious, it is possible to gather from them facts of historical events of his reign in a satisfactory manner. In those days there was no printing press at the disposal of the Governments to issue the bulletins or orders as they are done now-a-days. Asoka, therefore, inscribed his edicts or proclamations on rocks, stone-pillars or in caves. These inscriptions may, therefore, be principally divided into three classes:

- I. Rock Inscriptions.
- II. Pillar Inscriptions, and
- III. Cave Inscriptions.

¹ Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions.

I. Rock Edicts.

Rock Edicts are fourteen in number and have been found in eight different places. These places are [1] Shāhbāzgaihī in the Peshawar district, [2] Mansehīā in the Hazāra district [both in the North West Frontier Provinces], [3] Kalsī, a village in the Dehia Dun district, United Provinces, [4] Giinār Hill near the city of Junāgadh in Kāthiāwār, [5] Dhauli, a village about seven miles south of Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri district, Orissa. In this edict, the place is mentioned as Tosali, the seat of the southern Viceroyalty. [6] Jaugāda about eighteen miles north west of the town of Gañjam; [7] Yellagudī, about eight miles north west from Gootū in the Kaināl district in the Madras Presidency, [8] Sopānā, in the Thana district to the north of Bombay, where only a fragment of Edict VIII has been found.

Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII are omitted on the Dhauli and Jaugāda rocks. In their places are two separate edicts proclaiming the principles on which the administration of Separate Kalinga Edicts the newly conquered province and its border tribes should be conducted. These two edicts are known as Kaliṅga Edicts, for both Dhauli and Jaugāda were in the newly conquered province of Kaliṅga. They also contain instructions to the Viceroys of Ujjain and Taxila to apply in their respective administrative areas the principles of the edicts.

Minor rock inscriptions of Aśoka have been found in [1] Rūpanāth, an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Jubbulpore district, C. P., fourteen miles west of Sleem-Minor Rock Edicts anabad railway station on the line from Jubbulpore to Katnī, [2] Saṅasram, in the Shahabad District, Bihar, a railway station on the Grand Chord Line, E. I. R. The edict is found in an artificial cave in the Chandan Pir Hill about two miles to the east of the town. [3] Baiāt in Jaipur State, Rājpūtanā; [4] Maski, a village in the Raichur district of the Nizam's dominions, about forty-six miles south-west of Raichur. The Maski inscription has an importance of its own, as it is the only record

that actually names Aśoka as its author. It starts with the word *Devanampiyasa Asokasa*, instead of *Devānampiya Piyadasin* or simply *Devanampiya* as in the rest of his edicts. Three southern versions of the above edicts with a supplementary edict added to each have been discovered by Mr. Lewis Rice in 1892 in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State. The find-spots which are close to one another are [5] Siddhapura, [6] Brahmagiri and [7] Jatinga-Rāmeśvara.

II Pillar Edicts.

The proclamation of Aśoka commonly known as Seven Pillar Edicts have been inscribed on six Pillars, all in Northern India.

[1] The most well-known of these is the Delhi-Topiā Pillar. It was in Toprā a village in the district of The Seven Pillar Edicts Khizrabad which was about 180 miles from Delhi. King Firoz Shah of Delhi brought it to Delhi. This pillar contains all the seven edicts, the rest bear only six. [2] The Delhi-Meerut Pillar was originally in Meerut and was removed to Delhi by the same Sultan. [3] The third one is now in Allahabad. It was originally in Kauśāmbī and was brought to Allahabad by Akbar¹. This Allahabad-Kosam pillar contains also two minor edicts of Aśoka, the Kauśāmbī Edict and the Queen's Edict. Also Samudra Gupta and Jahangir used this pillar for their own inscriptions. The third and the fourth edicts of Aśoka have been hopelessly destroyed by the inscription of Jahangir, [4] The Lauriya Araṇāja Pillar and [5] Lauriya-Nandangarh Pillar and [6] the Rampurwā Pillar are close to one another in the Champaran District of Bihar.

The proclamations of Aśoka commonly known as Minor Pillar Edicts are found on the [1] the Allahabad Pillar and on the pillars set up at Sāñchi [Bhopal State], Sārrāth [Benares] and Rummindci and Nigliva [Nepal Tarai]. Of the edicts of these series, [1] the Queen's Edict is found only on the Allahabad Pillar, [2] the

¹ See the author's book 'Early History of Kauśāmbī, p. 107

edict on Schism is found on Allahabad, Sāñcī and Sāraṇāth Pillars. [3] The inscriptions on Rummindēi and Niglīva Pillars are commemorative and votive edicts.

III Cave Inscriptions.

There are four caves on the Bañbañ hill, about nineteen miles [by road] north of Gaya. On the walls of the three of these caves are found the inscriptions of Aśoka informing us that he dedicated these caves to the Ājīvikas.

The language used in these inscriptions is Pākīt and the script Brāhmī. Only in two inscriptions, *i.e.*, at Mānschiā, and Shāhbāzgarh the script is Kharoshthī, a name given by Buhler to those North-western cursive characters running from the right to the left as in Uīdu, Persian and other Semitic languages.

Language and
Script

After an eventful reign of forty-one years, the Great Aśoka died in 232 B.C. and with him ended the greatness of Mauryan rule. His successors were weaklings and could not maintain the great empire which fell to encroachments from within and without, an account of which will be given in the next chapter.

INDIAN SOCIETY IN AŚOKA'S TIME

A picture of the society in Aśoka's time we get from his inscriptions and from Greek and indigenous literatures of the fourth to second century B.C. Castes existed then as now, but it was in a more or less fluid state allowing inter-caste marriages which was known as *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages. When a male of a higher caste, say Brāhmaṇa, married a female of a lower caste, say a Kshatriya or a Vaśya, the marriage was called *anuloma*, and when a male of a lower caste married a female of a higher caste, it was *pratiloma* marriage. There were different sects and religious communities who followed Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jaina faiths. There were ascetic sects, *e.g.*, Sādhus, Śāmanas and Ājīvikas. Aśoka followed a tolerant policy honouring all sects and religions and bestowing his charities to all. People of different sects and communities lived in peace, unity and amity.

In the daily life of the people, we find the public side of it sufficiently gay. The people were frugal in their diet and sober, except on occasion of festivals. The chief display of luxury was in dress. Megasthenes speaks of the fine and costly clothes and jewels which the upper and the richer classes put on [Megasth. XXVII, 8--9]. There were inns, hostceries, eating houses, serais and gaming-houses where numerous sects and crafts had their meeting places and the latter their public dinners [Arth. p. 56].¹ The business of entertainment provided a livelihood for various classes of dancers, singers and actors [Hopkins, JAOS, XIII, pp. 79-80, 82-3]. Even the villages were visited by them, and the village common-hall was used for their shows [Arth. p. 48]. Penalties were imposed for refusal to assist in organising' public entertainments. The king provided in amphitheatres constructed for the occasion dramatic, boxing and other contests of men and animals. Asoka discouraged contests of men and animals and introduced instead spectacles of heavenly scenes which would provide both entertainment and moral instructions [RE. IV].

In domestic life the joint-family system prevailed, but it could be dissolved. Boys and girls attained their majority at the age of sixteen and of twelve respectively [Arth. p. 154]. There

were four regular and four irregular forms of
Family life. Post-mariage, which was dissoluble by mutual con-
sition of Women sent or exparte [by the wife] on certain conditions
such as prolonged absence of the husband without making provi-
sions for the wife, his physical and mental defects, etc. [Arth. p. 59;
Manu IX 76]. Unchastity of the wife gave the husband the right
to forsake her. Upon the failure of male issue the husband
could after a certain period take other wives of any caste, but he was
required to render justice to all. A widow was at liberty to marry
again, but she was to wait at least one year if she had a child
[Arth. p. 158]. The wife had her dowry and ornaments, and
her bride-gifts, which were her private property and at her dis-
posal. Offences against women of all kinds were severely punished,
including the actions of officials in charge of workshops and prisons.

¹ The text used is Shamsastry's Revised Edition of 1919.

The offence of killing a woman was equal to that of killing a Brāhmaṇ [Arth. p. 146].

Agriculture was the main industry. State made ample provisions for irrigation and marketing of the produce. Trade was active, various and minutely regulated. There were

Trade and Industry traders and merchant guilds which were called Śrenis [Arth. p. 378].

The previous wares comprised many species of gold, silver, spices and cosmetics from all parts of India ; jewels including pearls from Southern India, Ceylon and beyond the sea ; skins from Central Asia and China ; muslin, cotton and silk from China and Further India [e.g., Indonesia, Indo-China, etc.] The best horses came, as now, from the Indus countries and beyond. The merchant had to pay certain duties at the frontiers, and road cess and octroi at the gates of the cities where the royal officials maintained a watch-house [Arth. p. 140]. Sale of the country produce was in the first instance by auction. Any combination to effect prices was punishable [Ib.]. As an aid to internal trade and traffic high-roads [rājapathas] and by-roads [baṇikapathas] or merchant-roads were constructed and maintained. Canals and river-routes were also used for cargo and passenger boats. Hospitals for men and beasts were maintained ; pharmaceutical works for the manufacture of medicines were established, for which medicinal plants in the state Botanical gardens and those imported from outside were available [RE. II].

Schools and higher educational institutions were maintained by state and public charities. Taxila and Pañchāla [U. P.] were great centres of higher education. The former corresponded

Literacy and Literature to a modern Teaching University imparting instructions in all subjects of arts and science including military science and medicine. The

Pañchāla Academy [Parishat] specialised in the teaching of higher philosophy. Writing was in common use not only for literary purposes, but also in public business. The inscriptions of Aśoka show that the scripts, now called Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhi, were well practised and have been in use for a long time. These two scripts have been the precursors of the Sanskrit and Persian scripts used in the Indian vernaculars. The language of the edicts was Māgadhi

Prākrit with local variants, so that common people could read and understand it. This shows that literacy was fairly well spread and was not confined to the Brāhmans only. Epistolatory correspondence was frequently usual and written documents were kept.

II. THE MAURYAN ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

I ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

During the time of Chandragupta and Aśoka, the organisation of the state attained a high degree of perfection.

The nature of the Government was enlightened despotism. We have nothing in the contemporary records about any local self-governing institution. The whole power ^{Machinery of Government} was centralised at Pāṭaliputra in the hands of the King who, having the good and the welfare of his people at heart, ruled them from day to day, looking after the minutest details of administration. It was almost a sort of paternal government, everything being found for the people by the king. The king was the head of justice and law and of the army. His decrees were laws and he was the highest court of appeal in the empire. But law and justice both followed the well-established custom of the land and the injunctions of the Śāstras. In the stupendous task of administration of this vast empire, the king was aided by a body of councillors [Mantri, Parishad] at Pāṭaliputra and a highly organised bureaucracy working in different administrative centres of the empire. The frame-work of the administrative machinery was made by Chandragupta and was perfected by Aśoka with slight modifications.

The kingdom was divided into several Provinces. Provincial Governors were of two classes. The Provinces which were of great political importance and which, therefore, required loyal and tactful administrators, were assigned to Kumāra Viceroys and Governors, the princes of the royal blood designated as Kumāras. They were Kumāra-Mahāmātras. Four such Kumāra-Mahāmātras are mentioned in Aśoka's edicts. One Kumāra-Viceroy was stationed at Taxila [Takshaśilā], the

headquarters of his North-West Frontier Province; a second Kumāra was Viceroy of the province with its capital at Ujjain, a third Kumāra-Viceroy was stationed at Tosali, the headquarters of his newly conquered province of Kalinga, and the fourth Kumāra-Viceroy ruled the southern province from its headquarters at Suvarnagiri.¹

Besides these Kumāra-Mahāmātras or Viceroys, there were provincial Governors or Mahāmātras as can be gathered from Aśoka's Rock and Pillar Edicts proclaiming his order to them. The Kauśāmbī Edict, for instance, was an order to the Mahāmātras of Kauśāmbī to punish in certain manner those who were guilty of schism. We do not get any names of these Mahāmātras from any of Aśoka's inscriptions except in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman. That epigraphic record tells us that the Province of Surāshṭra [Kāthūwār] was governed by Vaśya Pushyagupta in Chandragupta's time and by the Yavana Tushāspa when Aśoka was king. The appointment of a Yavana as a Governor of a Province was similar to that of Rājā Man Singh, chief of Akbar, appointed by Akbar to govern the province of Bengal. These two Emperors of India have left behind them pleasant memories of a truly liberal spirit of administration.

Besides the Viceroys and the Governors, there were three other classes of officials mentioned in the Arthaśāstra and in Aśoka's Edicts. The chief officials according to the former were Mantrin [Chief minister], Purohita [Chief priest], Senāpati [Commander-in-chief], Yuvarāja [Crown-prince]. These form the highest of the 18 *Tṛtīyas* forming the inner-council

or the Cabinet of the king who consulted other important officials them always. The other 14 chief officials or *Tṛtīyas*, mentioned in the Arthaśāstra are Dauvārīka [Chamberlain], Antarveśīka [Chief of the harem], Praśāstri [Inspector-General of prisons], Samāhartā [Collector-General], Sannidhātā [Treasury-chief], Pradeshītri [Divisional

¹ Capital of the southern-most viceroyalty, included the Isila District, touching the frontiers of the independent Chola and Pāṇḍya kingdoms.

Commissioner], Nāyaka [City Constable], Paura [Governor of the Capital], Vyavahārīka [Chief Judge], Karmāntaka [Chief of the Mines], Mantri-parisatadhyaksha [President of the Council], Dandapāla [Police Chief], Dvāra Pāla [Chief of the Home Defence], Antapāla [Chief of the Frontier Defence]. Below them were a large number of second grade officials known as Adhyakshas or superintendents mentioned both by Kautilya and Megasthenes. They were in charge of such subjects as those of Kośa [Treasury] Ākara [Mines], Suvarna [Gold], Kosthāgāra [Store-house], Pañya [Royal Trade], Kupya [Forest-Product], Ayūdhāgāra [Armoury], Māna [Measurement], Mudrā [Passports], Pattana [Ports], Ganikā [Courtesan], Samsthā [Trade], Devatā [Religious Institutions] and those of the four branches of the army. In the RE. III of Aśoka we find some new names of officials not found in the Arthaśāstra, e.g., Pradeśikas, Rājukas, and Yukta. The Pradeśika, according to Dr. Thomas, 'was an officer charged with the duties of revenue collection and Police.' Next to him and possibly attached to him was Rājuka, an officer, performing a double function of the modern Revenue and Judicial officer, and the Yukta were 'district treasury officers who managed the king's property, received and kept accounts of revenue and had power to spend where expenses were likely to lead to an increase of revenue.'¹ Another officer mentioned in the separate Kalinga Edict I is Nagala-Viyohālaka [Nagara-Vyavahāraka], the same as Paura-Vyavahāraka of the Arthaśātra whose duty was to administer justice in district towns. There was another class of officers called Anta-Mahāmātras. They have been taken to mean 'Wardens of the Marches' or high officers of the Frontier Provinces by some scholars. Aśoka mentions them in his Pillar Edict I and evidently, distinguishes them from the rest of his 'Purushas,' or Officers whether of high, low or middle rank, perhaps because of special responsibility attached to their office. Important Mauryan officials appear to have been invested with judicial powers to enforce the royal edicts.

Another new class of officers created by Aśoka were Dhama-

¹ Aśoka p. 58.

Mahāmātias. They did not exist in the time of Chandragupta. They have been translated by Dr. Vincent Smith as *Censors*. But

Dharma Mahamatras the world should better remain unaffected. Then duties were comprehensive and have been clearly explained in the Rock Edict V:

'Now for a long time past,' runs the inscription, 'there were no Dharma Mahāmātias. Dharma Mahāmātias were created by me when I had been consecrated thirteen years. They are employed among all sects and also for the establishment of Dharma, proclamation of Dharma and for the welfare and happiness of those devoted to Dharma' [RE, V]. Being engaged among all classes of people among the Brāhmaṇas and Gaṅgāpatis, among the helpless and the aged, or among those who are encumbered with progeny or subjected to oppression, or among those who leaning on Dhamma are given up to alms-giving these Dhamma Mahāmātias were enjoined to render suitable help as particular cases demanded. [Ib.]

The king maintained a close personal supervision over the administration of his officials far and near. It was, therefore, necessary that he should adequately keep himself informed of the

working of his bureaucratic machinery. For this purpose, he maintained an adequate secret service which included spies, detectives, news agents stationed at the headquarters of provincial administration and also trained carrier-pigeons.

Chandragupta maintained a large standing army which was well-equipped and regularly paid. Of course, the king was at the head of the army, but the control and administration of the army

The Army was entrusted to a board of thirty members who constituted into a regular War Office divided into six departments, namely, [1] Admiralty; [2] Transport, Commissariat and army service; [3] Infantry; [4] Cavalry; [5] War chariots and [6] Elephants. The strength of the army in four different branches of forces were 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and 8,000 chariots. The Greek writers testify to the fine morale and efficiency of Chandragupta's army which made it possible for him to 'overrun

and subdue all India and also to defeat the invasions of Seleukus.'

The capital city, Pāṭaliputra [Modern Patna] was situated on the junction of the Ganges and Sōn rivets. It was a very large city, being about 9 miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. The city was defended by a massive timber palisade which had sixty-four gates and was crowned by five hundred and seventy-four towers. All round the walls of the city ran a road and a deep moat, filled with the water of the Sōn.

Chandragupta devised an excellent municipal administration of the city which evoked the admiration of foreigners.

It is not known whether the Municipal Commission was an elected body or its members were appointed by the Government, perhaps the latter, but the scheme of the administration and the functions of the board were very similar to a modern Municipal Board, allowing for the difference of actual problem and condition obtaining in those times. There were thirty members constituting the Municipal Commission for the administration of the city and were divided into six Boards or Committees of five each. Each board had separate functions allotted to it. For instance, the first Board looked after the industrial arts of the city; the second Board attended to the foreigners, resident in the city; the third Board was incharge of the registration of births and deaths ; the fourth Board regulated trade and commerce; the fifth Board supervised manufacture and sale of articles ; and the sixth Board collected the utbes on the prices of the goods sold. Apart from these functions which the Boards separately discharged, the commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning the public welfare, such as the repairs of public works, the maintenance of markets, harbours and temples and the regulation of prices etc. There is no doubt that this system of Municipal administration prevailed in other cities of the empire also.

We gather from Kauṭilya that besides his cabinet or the inner council the king had an Advisory Board of Councillors—Mantri-Paiishad of which Kauṭilya himself was probably the chief. The

provincial Governors also seem to have had advisory Boards called Parishads which deliberated on all affairs of the state and helped the former to discharge their duties. It seems that the constitution of these boards represented a further application of the principles which lay at the back of the Boards described above. It is clear from the Rock Edict VI, Parishads that the Parishad had a great deal of freedom of discussion and could differ even from the wishes of the King. RE. VI says "If in the council [of Mahāmātras] a dispute arises or an amendment is moved in connection with any donation or proclamation which I myself am ordering verbally or [in connection with] an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere [and] at any time."

The king was, of course, the head of justice, but he alone could hardly have disposed of the whole litigation even in the capital. From Megasthenes we gather that Chandragupta had judicial officers who decided cases according to law. Megasthenes testifies to the severity of the Mauryan Criminal Code and that crimes were extremely rare. Asoka tempered justice with kindness. In the Kalinga Edict, we find that he enjoined on the Mahāmātras who were the city judiciaries to be devoted to the eternal rule of conduct and to avoid causeless imprisonment and causeless harassment of the towns people. In the RE. IV he records the order that a respite of three days was to be granted to persons condemned to death, so that his relatives might use the interval to petition for mercy to the local authorities or the convicts to prepare spiritually for death by 'giving alms or observing fasts.' And in order that his edicts on judicial fairness and impartiality were acted upon by his judicial officers, he employed special class of officers, a sort of inspectors of courts to conduct quinquennial or in some provinces every three years tour. 'I shall cause a Mahāmātra to go forth on tour every five years who will be neither harsh nor fiery [but] gentle in action so that being aware of this object [the city judiciaries] will act according to my instructions. But from Ujjain, the royal

princes will send forth this class of officers and will not overstep three years. When these go forth on tour, without neglecting their own function, they will mind this also, namely whether [the city] judiciaries are acting to the instructions of the king."¹

Taxes were levied both in cash and in kind and were collected by the local officers. The Land Tax formed then, as now, the chief source of revenue. The rate at which the land tax was claimed by the Government was $1/4$ of the produce of the soil.

Revenues of the State Another important source of income was taxes on sale. The law was that in fortified towns, all

articles for sale [except grain, cattle and some others] had to be brought to the toll-house near the gate, marked with an official stamp and taxed *ad valorem* after being sold. The rates varied according to the value of the articles. Articles manufactured in the town and those brought from outside came under this tax. This was something like the excise duties on local manufactures and octroi duties levied in towns by its municipality. Another source of income was excise on liquor. A regular system of excise license was in force. Foreign liquor could be sold on a special license. Besides, water rates, royalties on mines and fisheries revenues from Crown lands and forests, fines, taxes on professions [Corresponding to the modern license fees for learned professions], tolls in ferries and bridges provided other sources of the state revenue. Asoka evidently kept up the revenue system of his grandfather intact. The only information we gather from one of his inscriptions² is that he reduced the land revenue of the village of Lumbini to $1/8$ in memory of Buddha's birth in that village. This only shows that the rate of land revenue even in the time of Asoka was above $1/8$ and probably double the reduced amount for Lumbini.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Both from Megasthenes and the *Aitihāsāstra*, we gather that the people in the time of Chandragupta were divided into several

¹ Separate Kalinga Edict I.

² Rumminder Pillar Inscription.

castes and that the caste rules were fairly rigid and exclusive.

Caste and Occupations Megasthenes, however, makes a confusion between castes and classes of men engaged in different occupations. For instance, he finds people divided into seven professional classes such as [1] Philosophers, [2] Husbandmen, [3] Neat-herds, [4] Artisans, [5] Fighting men, [6] Overseers and [7] Councillors and calls them 'caste.' This is evidently the result of a mistaken perception of the significance of Indian caste system. The Mauryan State being almost a paternal one, all kinds of occupations were helped, supervised and controlled by the Government. Rigidity of castes greatly slackened in the time of Asoka when Buddhism was the dominant religion in the country.

Megasthenes speaks with admiration of the high moral tone of the society. Slavery, a universal custom in the Graeco-

High Morals of Society Roman world was unknown.¹ People lived frugal and happy lives. Wine was never drunk except at sacrifices when a kind of juice called *Somaras* was consumed. The chief article of food was rice-pottage. Polygamy was unknown to the common people and was confined only to the royal and the richer classes, but women enjoyed great liberty. They studied philosophy and could take the monastic vows. The seclusion of the female sex was only introduced in Muhammadan times. *Sati* was not a common practice and rarely took place. The people enjoyed a great

Honesty and well-founded reputation for probity.

Of their honesty, Megasthenes, like Yuan Chwang, who wrote many centuries later, speaks in an enthusiastic manner. When he visited the camp of Chandragupta, he found that in the whole of his army encamped there, the thefts reported amounted to the value of less

¹ Probably it existed but escaped the notice of Megasthenes. The condition of slavery in India, however, was far better than in Greece and Rome which explains the Greek writer's ignorance of Indian slavery.

than 200 drachmae¹. They left their homes unguarded, made no written contracts or written laws. They seldom went to law. People were acquainted with reading and writing and used paper woven from flax. That literacy prevailed among the common people can be inferred from the existence of Aśoka's edicts.

Megasthenes gives an interesting and intelligent account of the religion of the country. The principal religious sects were the Brāhmans and the Śramanas who were Buddhists and Jainas.

Besides these, there were the Yogis, hermits and ascetics. Megasthenes notes the similarity between the speculations of the Brāhmans and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato. He speaks of their belief that the world is spherical, liable to destruction and permeated by the presence of the Deity. They also believed in the existence of a fifth element—Akāsa or ether. Megasthenes found a pleasure characteristic with the Greeks in identifying the gods which Indians worshipped with the Greek gods: Śiva is "Heraclēs"; Indra is "Zeus Ombrion," etc. In the time of Aśoka, Buddhism became the most popular religion, under the patronage of that great Emperor who, however, treated all religions with equal respect.

From Megasthenes we learn that the people were happy and prosperous. Agriculture was in a flourishing condition due to an extensive system of irrigation by General Prosperity the state. People were skilled in arts, dress, and jewellery. "They love finery and ornaments. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they also wear flowered garments made of the finest muslin," says Megasthenes. The sculptures at Sāñchi amply prove that Megasthenes was correct in his description. The dress of men and women ordinarily consisted of two pieces of cloth, one round the loin, another the body and a head dress of richer stuff. Ornaments of different shapes artistically fashioned added to the costume of both sexes.

¹ The "drachma" is worth a franc, i.e., a little less than a rupee.

The jeweller's art attained a high degree of excellence. The Mauryan age is specially famous for the high degree of perfection it attained in the art of stone-work. The highly polished magnificent monolithic pillars on which ^{Art. and Architecture} Asoka inscribed his edicts testify to the skill of stone-workers and perfection of their tools. Again, the carrying of these pillars to long distances for the purpose of erection was a feat of engineering skill of transportation which evokes our wonder and admiration even at this age of science. The capitals of the Asokan pillars are beautiful relics of the Mauryan Art. The beauty, proportions and attentions to minor details evinced in the capitals, specially the Lion Capitals, testify to the exquisite skill in sculptural art attained in the Mauryan Age.

We gather plenty of information for the all-round activities of the paternal Mauryan State from Megasthenes. Kautilya's Arthashastra which in addition to supplementing the records of Megasthenes gives many new information. The Economic Activities of the Mauryan department of public works in the Government of State

*Chandragupta was well organised and its scopes and functions clearly defined. The area of its activity was quite extensive and included among other things 'the working of mines, the opening of irrigation works, the establishment of factories, the maintenance of preserves and grazing grounds, of highways and commerce, waterways, land routes and other facilities for communication; the establishment of markets and the stores; the construction of embankments, drains and bridges; the planting of fruit and flower trees, of medical plants and herbs; the state protection of the disabled, the helpless and the infirm and also of the lower animals.'¹ Thus the Mauryan State fulfilled the functions which a modern socialist state would do.

Megasthenes records that 'soil has also under-ground numerous

¹ Studies in Ancient Indian Polity based on Kautilya's Arthashastra by N. N. Law, pp. 2-3.

viens of all sorts of metals, for it contains gold and silver and iron in no small quantity and even Mining tin and metals which are employed in making articles of use and ornament as well as implements and accoutrements of war' [Book I, Fragment I.] From this passage we gather that there was extensive mining operation in those days but find nothing as to how it was worked. The Arthaśāstra, however, throws more light on the subject. According to it, there were two classes of mines, *viz.*, [1] Ocean mines, and [2] Land mines. The duty of the superintendent of ocean mines was to look after the collection of diamonds and other precious stones, pearls, corals, conch-shells and salt. The duty of the superintendent of the land mines was to protect and discover new mines on plains and mountain slopes. He had to examine and find from slags, ashes and other such indications whether a mine had been or not. This department was manned by several other experts. Mining labourers were equipped with the necessary scientific apparatus. The government either directly worked a mine or leased it to private persons.¹

There was an elaborate system of irrigation in the time of Chandragupta. Megasthenes says: 'The greater part of the soil is under irrigation and consequently bears Irrigation two crops in the course of the year, [Bk. I; Frag. I]. In another place he records: 'Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out by the main canals into other branches, so that everyone has an equal supply of it' [Bk. III, Frag. XXXIV]. Certain details of the Mauryan irrigation system are given in the Arthaśāstra which we do not find in Megasthenes. For instance, in a passage of the Arthaśāstra, we find that there were four kinds of irrigation, *e.g.*, [1] irrigation by hand, [2] irrigation by water carried on shoulders, [3] irrigation by some mechanical contrivance and [4] irrigation by water raised from tanks, rivers. The rates charged by Government

¹ Ib., pp. 3-4.

from agriculturists were one-fifth, one-fourth and one-third of the produce respectively.¹

The only epigraphic record of this branch of economic activity of the Mauryas is the Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman which says that "Pushyagupta formed the Lake Sudarśana by damming a stream between a citadel and a rock. It was completed by Tushāspa. Junāgadh lay in the province of Surāshṭra and Pushyagupta was its Governor in the time of Chandragupta and Tushāspa in the time of Aśoka."²

We gather from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra that in Chandragupta's Government there was a special department of live-stock whose duties were to make provision for its pastures and grazing grounds, registration of cattle, to fix the scale and standard of diet, to make rules regarding milking, to prevent the cruel treatment of animals and to make adequate provisions for treatment of sick animals. Horses and elephants received the same care as cattle. There was special provision for the training of horses and elephants.³

Like all kings of ancient India the Mauryas were great hunters. Megasthenes describes the grand scale on which the royal hunting was organised in the time of Chandragupta Forests and Game Laws [Meg. Bk. II, Frag. XXXII]. We gather from Aśoka's RE. VIII that it was a practice with the

kings to go out on hunting excursions in which he also indulged up to the tenth year of his coronation when he abolished it. From Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, we learn that Chandragupta maintained certain forests which were reserved and the animals whereof were exempted from capture, molestation and slaughter. Violation of forest-rules were punished with fines. [Arth. Bk. II, p. 22]. Besides the royal hunting forests, there were other forests where the public could hunt but certain animals were given special protection from slaughter, such as birds, deer and

¹ Ib., pp. 11-12.

² Ep. Ind., VIII. pp. 42ff.

³ Studies in Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 46, 62, Cf. Meg., Bk. III, Frag. XXXV.

fishes in certain seasons, sea-elephants, horse, ox or ass, some birds that were regarded as sacred. For the safety of the protected animals in the state forests, all necessary precautions were taken [PE.V.]

Both Megasthenes and Kauṭilya testify to the fact that the Mauryan rulers were great builders of roads and canals. The four quarters of the vast Mauryan Empire were connected with a

Means of Communication

network of roads and water routes radiating from Pāṭaliputra. The number of routes in each direction seems to have been determined by consideration of traffic and trade importance. For instance, Kauṭilya regards the routes leading to the South were more important than those leading to the Himalayas; for while the latter brought to market the supply of blankets, skin and horses, the former facilitated the supply of such valuable commodities as diamonds, pearls, gold and conch-shells of which South India was the noted home for ages. Again, of the southern routes, the more important ones were those that passed by large number of mines. The trunk route connecting Pāṭaliputra with the Indus Valley was called by Megasthenes 'Royal Road' which the Arthaśāstra designated as 'Rāja-mārga' or the king's highway and makes it 4 dandas or 32 feet wide [Arthaśāstra, Bk. VII]. Roads in the city were classified according as they were used by beasts of burden, pedestrians or conveyances; and roads in the country were classified according to the destinations they led to. There were rules for the driving of vehicles to ensure the security of passers-by. Special care was taken for repairing the roads and favour was shown to labourers by exempting them from taxes. The evidences of the Arthaśāstra are confirmed by the epigraphic records of Aśoka from which we gather that the supply of water and shade was one of the concerns of the Government. Trees were planted, wells were dug and rest-houses provided for travellers' comforts [PE. VII]. That waterways were highly developed and much used for traffic and trade is evident from the Arthaśāstra. There were several classes of water-routes, river-routes, canals, routes for coastal traffic carrying on inter-portal communications and ocean-routes

carrying on commerce and communications with foreign countries across the sea. Consequently means of transport were highly developed and in the Arthaśāstra, we find the names of several kinds of ships and boats, e.g., ocean-going vessels, merchantmen, big vessels used in large rivers and seas, etc. Connecting the roads across rivers were innumerable bridges and ferries maintained by the State.¹

Both from Megasthenes and the Arthaśāstra, we learn that the Mauryan State had a permanent department for taking annual census. Megasthenes says: "The third body of super-intendents consist of those who enquire when Census • and how births and deaths occur, with a view not only of levying a tax but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government." [Meg. Bk. III, Frag. XXXII]. The village officers and the census department, according to Kautilya, were to record the number of inhabitants of all four castes in each village [which was evidently the unit for census-taking in rural areas]; to count the cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, slaves, the young and the old men of each house and to ascertain their character, occupation, income and expenditure [Arth. Bk. II p. 142]. The census in the towns and in the cities was taken by the town officers called Nāgaraka. A record of immigration and emigration of foreigners and men of suspicious character was also kept. Economically the importance of the census with its minute details as to the kind of lands occupied, occupation of the people, their income and expenditure etc. was very great indeed as a valuable aid to the taxation and a reliable index to the material condition of the people.²

Modern Governments are awake to the needs of regulating rates of interests charged by private money-lenders, and having

¹ S.A.I.P. pp. 68-87.

² Ib. pp. 170-79. also cf. PE. III, notes Mookerj's Asoka, p. 136 n. 1 and Bhandarkar's Asoka, p. 302 n. 7.

insurance laws to control Insurance Companies to protect the public from loss. But the Mauryan Government

Regulation of
Loans and Measures
against Famine,
Flood & Fire

had done this more than two thousand years ago. Exploitation of the poor and the needy by the grinding money-lenders was checked by the State which determined by law a fair rate of interest. All deviations from it were punished. The legal rate of interest for a money-lender, as mentioned in the Arthaśāstra, is 1½ per cent per month, i.e., 15 per cent per year. Considering the prosperity of the peasants and artisans—a picture of society that is drawn unanimously by all contemporary writers—the rate does not seem high, although it is high in the present state of Indian society. Yet we find in India to-day that the poor and the ignorant people do actually pay to private money-lenders interests at an exorbitant rate which goes as high as 75 per cent, before the nose of an enlightened modern Government.¹ There were also laws which determined interests on secured and unsecured debts. There were laws which exempted certain persons from payment of interest, such as [1] persons engaged in long continued sacrifices, probably in view of the general good believed to have been produced thereby ; [2] the diseased ; [3] those detained in the house of their preceptor for studies ; [4] minors ; [5] the indigent. The rates of dividend of a commercial concern were also regulated by the State. The interest on the capital contributed by the member of a commercial company shall not exceed one half of the profit and payable at the end of the year. In case of partners who by long absence or by maladies are disabled from participation in the business, they may be discharged from business, by being paid twice the amount of their original capital.²

The Mauryan State had both preventive and relief measures to protect people against famine, flood and fire. As a general precautionary measure against famine, it was laid down that

¹ Only recently Debt Legislations have been passed by some Provincial Governments to keep the rates of interests on debts low.

² S.A.I.B. pp. 170-79.

in the Government Store-house only half of the garnered articles should be used and other half reserved. In the time of famine, the State would provide the cultivators with seeds, start relief works and recommend other measures. One of these was temporary emigration with his subjects to distant places with abundant crops [Arth. Bk. IV]. Tradition has it that when Magadha was in the grip of a terrible famine, Chandragupta, accompanied by a large number of his subjects, actually migrated to the South where he finally died. As a precautionary measure against floods during the rainy season, the people were made to remove from the banks of the rivers, etc., in due time. Those who possessed or could procure canoes and other means of safety and escape were enjoined to give every possible help to others in need. Provisions were also made by Government to kill rats, locusts, injurious insects and other pests to save crops from destruction. The state laid down precautionary measures to protect life and property against fire. The measures consisted of *ten remedial instruments* [Daśamūlisamgraha], such as, a number of water-pots, a water-vessel, a ladder, an axe to cut beams, a hook to pull down the burning pieces of wood and ropes etc., which every house-holder, whether resident in a village or city, must always keep in rows in big roads and at the crossings of roads and in front of royal buildings at state expenses.¹ These precautionary measures against fire were necessary as most of the houses including Government buildings were made of wood, a fact that is testified to by Megasthenes [Meg. Bk. II, Frag. XXVI].

The Mauryan State took good care to secure the health of the people. From Megasthenes we learn that even foreigners were looked after very carefully when they were sick Public Health and buried when they were dead [Meg. Bk. III, Frag. XXIV]. From the Arthaśāstra, we learn of the adequate provisions made by the State for medical treatment of the citizens. "There were hospitals with store-rooms containing medicines

¹ Ib., 37-103.

in such large quantities as could not be exhausted by years of use." There are references in the Arthaśāstra of ordinary physicians, surgeons with surgical instruments and appliances and materials for bandages, nurses and midwives and physicians, specially expert in detecting poison [Arth. Bk. I., pp. 41-43 ; Bk. II, p. 146]. It will interest the modern readers to know that there was also arrangement in the Mauryan State for post-mortem examination. For this purpose the corpse was smeared with oil to prevent putrefaction. All cases of violent death caused, for instance, by suffocation, hanging or by poisoning were at once brought to the morgue and examined by the medical officers-in-charge [Arth. Bk. IV]. The State took care of the plantation and the growth of the medical herbs which were cultivated in both Government-owned fields or grown in pots. [Arth. Bk. II, p. 117]. The epigraphic records of Aśoka corroborated this fact. In RE. II we find that " Whenever medicinal herbs, wholesome for men and wholesome for animals, are not found, they have everywhere been caused to be imported and planted." As preventive measures to safeguard the health of the people, the state laid down stringent laws for punishing adulteration of grains, oils, alkalies, salts, scents and medicines [Arth. Bk. IV]. The health of the people in cities and crowded places was secured by sanitary measures. Throwing dirt or causing mire or water to collect in roads and highways was punishable. Committing nuisance near temples, royal buildings and places of pilgrimage or in reservoirs of water was penalised. Throwing inside the city the carcasses of animals or human corpses was also visited with fines. Carrying dead bodies through gates or along paths not meant for the purpose, as well as the interring or cremation of dead bodies beyond the limits of the prescribed burial places and crematories was also a violation of the Sanitary regulations."¹ Thus we find that everything that a Health Department of a modern Government does was done by the Mauryan Government more than two thousand years ago.

¹ Ib. pp. 94-95.

AŚOKA'S SUCCESSORS

Aśoka died about 236 B.C.¹ That he had more than one wife and several sons we learn from Aśoka's own words. In the Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Pillar Aśoka speaks of his 'second queen' Kāruvāki and her son Tivara. In PE VII he tells us that he had many sons and grandsons² and more than one queen. That he had at least four sons is clear from the epigraphic records which tell that each of the viceroys of Takshaśilā, Ujjayinī, Suvarnagiri and Tosali were in charge of a royal prince.³

Although Aśoka is silent about the names of his other queens and sons except the ones mentioned above, literature, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, gives the names of three of his sons. They are Mahendra, Kunāla and Jalauka. Mahendra, the son of Aśoka's *Sethi* wife of Vidisā, never sat on the throne, having joined the Order as a monk. Kunāla who was Viceroy of Ujjayinī was blinded by the conspiracy of his step-mother and was passed over according to the Jaina and Buddhist writers in favour of his son Samprati. The Rājataranginī tells us that Jalauka, a son of Aśoka, succeeded his father as an independent king of Kashmīr. Tarānātha mentions Viśasena as one who succeeded Aśoka as a ruler of Gandhāra. It is not clear in what relationship he stood with Aśoka. Dr. Thomas [Ind. Ant. 1875 and CHI, i., p. 512] suggests that he was probably the predecessor of Subhāgasena, a contemporary of Antiochos I mentioned by Polibius.

There is a great deal of confusion in traditional accounts as to who succeeded Aśoka on the throne of Magadha. Even the Purāṇic lists are contradictory. The only unanimity in them is with regard to the name of the last Maurya king—Brihadratha. According to the Divyāvadāna Sampadī [Samprati], the son of Kunāla, succeeded Aśoka. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, Aśoka was succeeded by his son Kunāla who reigned for eight years. Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita and Bandhupālita's successor was

¹ This is on the assumption that the reign lasted 36 or 37 years as the Purāṇas and the Pāli books affirm. C. H. II. p. 503.

² Putāpapotiika.

³ Kalinga Rock Edict, I, II and M. RE. [Brahmagiri.]

Indrapālita and after him came Devavarman, Satadhanus, and Brihadratha. The Matsya list mentions the following successors of Aśoka : Daśaratha, Samprati, Śatadhanvan, and Bṛihadratha. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, however, makes Daśaratha a grandson of Aśoka. Daśaratha is the only person among the successors of Aśoka who appears in an inscription as the donor of a cave in the Barabar Hill near Gayā. It is thus clear that Samprati who appears in most Purāṇic lists and Buddhist and Jaina books, and Daśaratha who appears both in literature and inscriptions have a definite historical basis. According to most scholars Samprati came after Daśaratha and they are not simultaneous rulers of Western and Eastern India respectively, as Dr. V. Smith held.¹

The successors of Samprati up to the last of their line, Bṛihadratha, were mere non-entities and we hear very little of them except their names. Bṛihadratha was killed by his *senāpati* Pushyamitra Śunga who founded a new dynasty on the imperial throne of Magadha in 184 B.C.

¹ EHI, 4th. ed., p. 203.

CHAPTER VII

I THE ŚUNGA, KANVA AND ANDHRA RULE

• 200 B.C.-300 A.D.

Aśoka was evidently the last great Emperor of the Maurya dynasty and with his death [c. 236 B.C.] passed away the greatness and glamour of the Mauryas. From the epigraphic records of Aśoka

The Later Mauryas and their Decline we find the name of one of his sons, Tīvāra, son of Queen Kāruvākī. Names of other sons Kunāla, Jalauka and Mahendra are mentioned in literature and from the same source, we get the names of two of his grandsons, Daśaratha and Samprati. The order of succession given in the Purāṇas is contradictory. In all, five or six kings intervened between Aśoka and Brihadratha, about whom different Purāṇas agree as being the last of the line and supplanted by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Śunga about 184 B.C. But Pushyamitra sat on the throne of Magadha of a greatly diminished territory. The great empire of Aśoka had already broken

Causes of the Downfall of Mauryan Empire up into many independent states during the days of his weak successors. The question arises: why should the Mauryan Empire which was ruled by such an efficient system of bureaucracy have so soon broken up? The causes were many: Firstly, the personal factor in an autocratic Government counts much and when the head of the Government was weak or inefficient, the Governors of the outlying and distant provinces asserted their independence. Sometimes the distant Governors were themselves weak or oppressive, but the strength of the Central Government kept them peaceful and safe. Many of these provinces rebelled and declared their independence when the Central Government at Pāṭaliputra became weak under incompetent rulers and could no longer suppress rebellions. Secondly, the military power of the Mauryas greatly declined for lack of fighting. After the Kaliṅga war, Aśoka gave up the policy of aggressive militarism which

would keep the army alert and engaged. Finding no scope for exercise under the pacific policy of Asoka, the Mauryan army lost their martial spirit and efficiency. So when rebellions and foreign invasions made their appearance after Asoka's death, the Mauryan army proved unequal to the task and disintegration set in. Thirdly, a strong Brāhmanic reaction arose against the Mauryan rule, which though tolerant in other respects, was against sacrifices which, however, formed an essential part of Brāhmaṇism. Pushyamitra who was a Brāhman and held a high command in the Mauryan army in the time of Brihadratha was the head of this reaction. He drove his weak master from the throne and put an end to the Mauryan rule in Magadha.

THE ŚUṄGA RULE

C. 184-73 B.C.

Pushyamitria Śuṅga, as we have seen, with a view to restore the neglected Brāhmaṇic religion and save the country, her liberty and time-honoured culture from the outlandish

Pushyamitra
Sunga 184-148
B.C. practices of the Yavana invaders ascended the throne of Magadha by a bold *coup d' état* and established a new imperial dynasty, but made amends by the energy he displayed in saving the crumbling empire of Magadha from utter annihilation. The remnant of the old empire restored to order by Pushyamitra included Magadha and certain neighbouring provinces, extending in the south as far as the Narbadā. The cities of Ajodhyā [U.P.], Vidiśā, and Barhut [C.I.] were included in the dominions of Pushyamitra. We learn from Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* that Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra was viceroy of Vidiśā, ruling the southern provinces. While in that position, Agnimitra successfully fought against the newly established kingdom of Vidarbha [Berar] and not only humbled its power but wrested a considerable territory as far as the river Vaṇadā.

Patanjali [a contemporary of Pushyamitra] illustrated the use of the imperfect tense denoting an event which has recently

happened thus. "Arunad Yavanah Saketam, Arunad Yavanah Madhyamikām."¹ This proves the Bactrian Greek invasion of Chitor and Ajodhyā in the time of Pushyamitra. Probably there were two Yavana wars which Pushyamitria had to fight—one in the beginning of his reign, and the other at the close of his reign. The invasion of the Yavanas [Indo-Bactrians] referred to in the Gārgī Saṁhitā states that they after reducing Saketa, Pañchāla and Mathurā reached Kusumadhvaja [Pātaliputra]. It is evident that the Yavana leader, whoever he is, was defeated beyond the walls of Pātaliputra or retired without fighting.² There is no evidence that Pushyamitra even lost his capital after his accession to the throne following the *coup d' état*. The Yavana conflict referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra was evidently in the latter part of Pushyamitra's reign when his grandson Vasumitria was of sufficient age to lead the imperial force against the Yavanas. Further the battle was fought on the river Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, flowing South towards Central India from a point south-east of Mathurā. It may also be the Kāli Sīrīhu, a tributary of Chāmaṇāvatī [Chambel] which also flowed off the Yamunā at a point between Mathurā and the Sindhu and passed through Central India [See Map. 2]. An army coming from Mathurā to Central India would find the route along the [Jumna] and its tributaries mentioned above the most convenient highway. Therefore the Yavana conflict mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra having been fought on the bank of either the Sindhu or Kāli Sindhu cannot be the same as mentioned in the Gārgī-Saṁhitā which was fought under the walls of Pātaliputra and it is unthinkable that when Pushyamitria was in the height of his power, and his sacrificial horse was roaming to challenge the powers of India, Pātaliputra should have been attacked by the same Yavanas who were defeated by Vasumitria. Unfortunately none of the above references mentions the name of the Yavana

¹ Tarn rejects Jayaswal's translation "will reach Kusumadhvaja" and accepts Barnet's translation 'will win' G. B. I. p. 453-3.

² Identified with Nagari near Chitor.

leader. The Greek writers credit specially two Bactrian Greek rulers of India with many Indian conquests. They were Demetrios, and Menander, both belonging to the line of Euthydemos. Demetrios died about forty years before Pushyamitra. He was probably the leader of the Yavana invasion of Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the Gārgī-Saṃhitā and hinted at by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. From this Greek account we gather that when Demetrios was busy with his Indian conquests, troubles broke out in his homeland, Bactria which revolted under Eukratides. Perhaps, this prevented Demetrios from pressing home his attack on Pāṭaliputra necessitating his hurried departure to meet his rival. For the rest of his life which ended in c. 160 B.C. he was engaged in war with Eukratides.

The second Yavana conflict referred to in the *Mālivikāgnimitra* was fought when Pushyamitra was evidently an old man, having a grandson of sufficient age to be entrusted with the command of the imperial forces and whose personal valour has been extolled in the drama. This Yavana war associated with the horse sacrifice of Pushyamitra must have been fought about the close of his reign which ended in c. 149 or 148 B.C., by which time Demetrios was dead. Therefore the Yavana forces defeated by Vasumitra must have been under some other leader than Demetrios. Our surmise is that he was Menander who has been bracketed by Greek writers with Demetrios as having conquered many countries of India. Strabo says that Menander conquered "more nations than Alexander." That he survived Demetrios and ruled the Central and South-Eastern Punjab as one of the princes representing the house of Euthydemos-Demetrios admits of no doubt. That he also held his sway as far east as Mathurā is proved by numismatic evidences. Further we know from Buddhist books that he became a convert to Buddhism, and his court Śākala [Sialkot] was a refuge of Buddhist monks. It is possible that he might have been inspired to restore the Dharma in the Middle Country which was under the sway of Pushyamitra Śunga, the leader of the Brāhmaṇic reaction, and led a crusading army against him. This also agrees with the expansionist policy of his pre-

decessors, Euthydemos and Demetrios towards the south-east. His advance from Mathurā which he already held to Central India probably coincided with the preparations of the horse-sacrifice mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra. The Yavana army of Menander from Mathurā to Central India naturally followed the high road along the Jumna some distance towards the south-east and then swerved off to the region along the bank of either Chāmanāvati or the Sindhu which led into Central India. The river Sindhu mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra on whose bank the Yavana force was defeated in all probability indicates either the Sindhu or Kālisindhu, a branch of the Chāmanāvati [Supia]. Dr. V. Smith assigns the invasion of Menander to the years between 156-153 B.C. and this date, coincides with the last few years of Pushyamitra's reign when the horse-sacrifice referred to in the drama [probably, the second and the last one¹] was performed.

War with Vidarbha.

The Mālavikāgnimitra is our source of information about the war which Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra and viceroy of Vidisā, fought against Vidarbha. We gather from the drama that the kingdom of Vidarbha in the Deccan was a newly established one [Achitādhishthita] and that therefore it was like a newly planted tree which had not yet taken firm roots [*'Nava Samropaṇa-Śithila-Stau'*]. Yajñasena, the king of Vidarbha is represented in the drama as a relative of the late Maurya King Brihadratha whom Pushyamitra had removed by his military *coup d'état*. This shows that Yajñasena was perhaps a governor of Vidarbha in the time of Brihadratha and had declared independence of the Śunga rule, and showed open hostility to the Śunga viceroy of Vidisā. His Cousin Mādhabasena was, however, a partisan of Agnimitra and was secretly coming to join him in Vidisā when he was captured near the frontiers and kept in prison. Agnimitra's

¹ The Ajodhyā Inscription [Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54-58] states that Pushyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices : "द्विरथवस्त्रयाजितः सेनापते: पूष्यमित्रस्य" etc.

demand to release him was met by a counter-demand by Yajñasena for the release of his brother-in-law, the Maurya minister, from prison. This led to the declaration of war by Agnimitra who sent Virasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and Mādhavasena was released. The kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two kingdoms [see Map. 2].

Horse Sacrifices

According to the Ajodhyā Inscription [Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54-58] Pushyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices. The horse sacrifice referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra, as we have seen, was performed at the close of his reign when his supremacy in Middle India was firmly established. We know from the Mahābhāshya that Patañjali officiated as a priest at least in one of the sacrifices. The passage in the Mahābhāshya : "Iha Pushyamitram Yājayāmaḥ" [here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra] proves it.¹

Now, if the Ajodhyā inscription is to be believed, when was the first horse-sacrifice performed? There is no doubt, as we have seen, that the horse-sacrifice referred to in the Mālavikāgnimitra was performed when Pushyamitra was an old man and was probably the second and the last one performed by him before he died, and the occasion was the king's ratification of his claim to suzerainty over his neighbours. When and on what occasion was the other horse-sacrifice performed? It is difficult to be definite on this point. But that it was, if at all, performed before the one in which the emperor's grandson Vasumitra was in charge of sacrificial horse is certain, and it will not be unreasonable to suppose that the first horse-sacrifice was performed soon after Pushyamitra's successful military *coup de'etat*, and probably also after the relief of Pātaliputra from the first Yavana invasion [Supra, p. 160].

¹ According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the rule 'याज्यामः' has been cited by Patañjali as an illustration of the Vārtika teaching of the use of an action which has been begun but not finished [Ind. Ant. 1872, p. 300; Also Cf. PHAI, p. 159].

Pushyamitra was the head of the Brāhmaṇic rule which worked for the revival of the sacrificial rites and rituals so long suppressed by the regime of the Buddhist Maurya rulers. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that Pushyamitra should have celebrated his accession to the throne and the relief from the Yavana invasion which immediately followed it by the revival of the horse-sacrifice which his followers expected as the royal declaration of the end of the Buddhist heretic regime and the beginning of the Brāhmaṇic rule and the revival of Brāhmaṇism.

The traditional account such as the Divyāvadāna and the Tibetan historian Tārānātha show that Pushyamitra Śunga persecuted the Buddhists and destroyed Buddhist monasteries. Some scholars reject the testimony provided by the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha and hold that Pushyamitra Śunga did not persecute the Buddhists.

**Pushyamitra
Sunaga and the
Buddhists** They cite as argument for their opinion¹ the Barhut inscription in which it is stated that the gateway of a Barhut stūpa was erected "during the time of the Sungas" [Suganam raje].¹ If we carefully look into the historical back-ground which brought about the accession of Pushyamitra Śunga to the throne of Magadha, we shall find that Pushyamitra Śunga was the head of the Brāhmaṇic Revolution which destroyed the rule of the Mauryas who had followed the pacific Buddhist policy of rule inaugurated by Aśoka. That the Brāhmaṇas had genuine cause of grievances against that kind of rule has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Harprasad Sāstri in his admirable paper [JASB, 1910]. Of course, Aśoka followed a tolerant policy in religion and was not a conscious persecutor of any sect but some of his edicts show that he introduced certain reforms for what he understood the welfare of his subjects [e.g., RE.I, RE.V., RE.IX, and PE.IV]. These reforms necessarily hit the interests and privileges which the Brāhmaṇas had been enjoying from time immemorial. Further, about that time the Yavanas, and Śakas made their appearance in India with their outlandish customs and practices. Hindu religion and culture

¹ Dr. Raychowdhuri, PHAI, 3rd Ed. p. 48; Dr. R. S. Tripathi H.A.I. p. 187.

was thus menaced from both within and without. The weak and pacific policy of the Buddhist Mauryan rule was not competent enough to protect the integrity of India and save its culture and religion from foreign invasion. The Brāhmans who considered themselves as guardians of the country's religion and culture determined to take the political power into their hands. The *coup d'état* under the leadership of Pushyamitra Śunga who was the commander-in-chief of Bṛihadratha's army ended in complete success. Pushyamitra Śunga, who was a Brāhman, thus brought into existence the first Brāhman rule in Magadha. In view of this historical background it is difficult to reject the testimony of the Divyāvadāna and Tāraṇātha who testify to the persecution of the Buddhists by Pushyamitra. He had to justify his leadership of the Revolutionary Party which came into power by persecuting the Buddhists and reviving Brāhmaṇism. According to the Divyāvadāna Pushyamitra issued a declaration that whoever would present him with the head of a Śramaṇa would be rewarded with one hundred dināras.¹ The proclamation referred to the Śramanas of Śākala, which we all know, was the capital of the Indo-Bactrian Menander [Milinda]. According to the Milinda Pañha, Śākala was a resort of the Buddhist monks. That Pushyamitra performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices is borne out by an Ajodhya Inscription [Ep. Ind. XX, pp. 54–58]. Pātañjali's Mahābhāṣya and the Mālavikāgnimitra also testify to his performance of horse-sacrifices. The feverish activities towards the revival of Brāhmaṇism by Pushyamitra ill fits with his tolerant policy towards Buddhism. Pushyamitra Śunga could ill afford to do so even if he liked, and keep his reactionary allies attached to his rule. But passion must have quieted down and political conditions settled during the time of Pushyamitra's successors, who felt less obliged to yield to the reactionary elements in the state and consequently pursued a less militant and more tolerant policy towards the Buddhists so as to allow them to decorate the Buddhist stūpas at Barhut by erecting gateways and railings, etc. That the gateways² were erected long

1 "यो मे अमणशिरो दास्यति तस्थावृ दानारशतं दीस्यामि ।"

2 [Div., Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 433.]

after Pushyamitria Śuṅga is also the opinion of eminent archaeologists, like N. G. Majumdar. [A Guide to the Sculpture in the Indian Museum, p. 14] Therefore, the expression "Suganamraje" should more reasonably apply to the successors of Pushyamitria Śuṅga than to Pushyamitria himself. In view of this clear archaeological evidence and the historical background against it, the Bahut gateway inscription should not be used as an argument to reject the clear literary evidences of the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha that Pushyamitria Śuṅga persecuted the Buddhists.

The Purāṇas give a dynastic list of ten Śuṅga kings, give Pushyamitria Śuṅga a reign period of 36 years and the entire dynasty 112 years. Pushyamitria, as we have seen, ascended the throne about 184 B.C., the dynasty, therefore, came to an end about 72 B.C. The kings mentioned in the Purāṇic list in order of succession are [1] Pushyamitra, [2] Agnimitria, [3] Vasujyesīha [4] Vasumitria, [5] Andhaka, [6] Pulindaka, [7] Ghosha, [8] Vajramitria, [9] Bhāga [Bhāgavatī?] and [10] Devabhūti.

Of Agnimitria nothing is known beyond such information as may be gleaned from the Mālavikāgnimitria and the Purāṇas. The combined evidence of these two sources, enable us to say that he was his father's viceroy at Vidiṣā, that he fought and won a war with Vidarbha, that his son Vasumitria was the commander of the imperial army guarding the sacrificial horse and that after his father's death he succeeded him as suzerain for eight years. Several copper coins bearing the name of Agnimitria have been found in North Pāñchāla [Rohilkhand]. In the absence of other positive evidences on the point it is difficult to say whether these coins bear the name of the Śuṅga king or that of a local prince ruling in Alichhatra. Prof. Rapson is in doubt on this point [Cambridge Hist. Ind. Vol. I, p. 520]. Cunningham thinks he was a local prince [Coins of Ancient India, p. 79]. Dr. Raychaudhuri [PIIAI, pp. 269-70] argues in favour of the coin name being that of Pushyamitria's successor Agnimitria. He similarly points out that the coin name Jethamitria is to be identified with Agnimitria's successor Vasujyesīha No. 3. in the Purāṇic List, who appears only as jyeshtha in one of the manus-

cripts [Ib.] The fourth king, in the list is Vasumitra. He was the son of Agnimitra and in his youth guarded the sacrificial horse and defeated the Yavanas on the Sindhu which probably formed the boundary between the south-eastern limit of Yavana kingdom of Mathurā and the Śuṅga territory in Central India.¹

The fifth king in the list who succeeded Vasumitra appears in the MSS. in different forms, e. g., Andhraka, Āndhraka or Odraka. Dr. Jayaswal identifies him with the Odaka [Skt. Odiaka] of the Pabbosā [near Kauśāmbī] rock inscription [JBORS, Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5]. The identification has not been accepted by many scholars. Of the next three kings we know nothing more than their names given in the Purāṇas. They were in succession Pulindaka, Ghosha, and Vajramitra. The ninth king in the Purāṇic list, Bhāgavata, has been identified by some scholars with king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar Pillar Inscription from which we gather that the Greek King Antialkidas of Taxila sent to the king Bhāgabhadra's court his ambassador Heliodorus, son of Dion who calls himself a *Bhāgarata* [JRAS, 1909, pp. 1055-56]. The tenth and last king in the list is Devabhūti who, after he had reigned for 10 years, was overthrown by his Anūtya Vasudeva, the Kānvayana, who founded a new dynasty. This account of the Purāṇas finds an echo in a passage of the Harshacharita which states that Vasudeva became ruler after having killed the over-ambitious Śuṅga by a successful conspiracy.²

THE ŚUṄGA CULTURE: RELIGION, ART AND LITERATURE

The Śuṅga rule was the result of a Brāhmaṇic revolt against the weak and pacific Buddhist monarchy which had an adverse effect on the orthodox Brāhmaṇic faith on the one hand and encouraged foreign invasions on the other. Therefore the first task of the newly established govern-

¹ See Supria p. 162; also Cf. PHAI, p. 270.

² Harshacharita VI, p. 199 (अतिस्त्रीसङ्गरतमनङ्गप्रवर्षा शुञ्ज-
मात्यो वसुदेवो.....वीतजीचित्तमकारमत्) See also Pargiter,
Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 71.

ment was to restore old Brāhmaṇic faith with its ceremonious rituals and sacrifices and the supremacy of the Brāhmans in the hierarchy of caste. Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* was the Śunga king's high-priest who officiated in the great sacrifice which Pushyamitria performed. The *Malavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa gives a graphic description of the sacrifice. The Ajodhya Inscription describes Pushyamitria to have performed two horse-sacrifices. Dr. Bühl assigns the date of Manu, the author of the *Manusmīti*, somewhere between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. The earliest limit of this period is more probable in view of the fact that the rehabilitation of the Hindu society on a strictly orthodox model establishing the hegemony of the Brāhmans beyond all doubt was the demand of the new ruling class and that the first Hindu law book was codified in keeping of that need. It must, however, be remembered that the Laws enunciated by Manu do not reflect the actual state of religion and society in the Śunga times. The Besnagar Pillar inscription at the time of a later Śunga king clearly shows that even the Greeks could become Hindus and worshippers of the god Vishṇu. The theories of the *Manusmīti* were set up as ideals which gradually hardened into realities with the progress of time with the result that today the orthodox Hindu society is regulated according to the Laws of Manu. The progressive elements in the Hindu society, however, think that the Manu's code has outlived its utility and advocate, through fresh legislations, its modification in many respects.

The Śunga period ushers a new age in the art of building. The wooden railings of the Buddhist stūpas of the Maurya and Post-Maurya period were replaced in the Śunga period by stone railings

and magnificent stone-gateways. The remains of
Art the Barhut Stūpa [Central India] provide the example. The sculptural reliefs on the gateways as well as on the pillars and cross-bars of the railings give beautiful pictorial representations of nature and the Jātaka stories. Among other well-known examples of Śunga monuments and sculptures may be mentioned the famous vihāra at Bhājā near Poona, a group of rock-cut stūpas and a large excavated chaitya-hall near the old vihāra at Bhājā, a chaitya hall at Nāsik, the chaitya-hall No. 9 at

Ajantā, a stūpa at Amrīvatī, the beautiful railing at Bodha Gaya enclosing the *chankrama* or promenade where the Buddha walked after the attainment of the Bodhi, the beautiful Vṛiksha Devatā at Barhut and the Garuda pillar at Besnagar, lacking the capital.

With the revival of Brāhmaṇism, Brāhmaṇ Literature naturally flourished during the time of the Śuṅgas. The famous commentary on Paṇini's grammar, the *Mahābhāṣya* was composed by Patañjali.

That Patañjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra and literature officiated as priest in the latter's house-sacrifice is proved by the passage, 'tba Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ' [here we are sacrificing for Pushyamitra] which Patañjali cites as an example to illustrate the use of the present tense to denote an action which has begun but not finished. It is probable that the *Mānasmiti* was compiled during this period. There must have been other literary celebrities, but their names have not been preserved.

THE KANVA DYNASTY C. 72-28 B.C.

The founder of this new dynasty of Magadha was Vasudeva. Precious little is known about the details of the Kanva rule. It appears that the territory was confined to Magadha and its neighbourhood but as occupying the throne of Magadha; they have been mentioned in the Purāṇas as imperial dynastic rulers. The total length of the reign according to the Purāṇas, was 45 years. The Purāṇas mention the names of four Kanva kings who reigned in Magadha in succession. "Vasudeva will be king for 9 years. His son Bhūmimitra will reign 14 years. His son Nāṭayana will reign 12 years. His son Suśarman will reign ten years." The Purāṇas call them Śuṅga-bhṛitya Kāṇvāyana kings and Brāhmans by caste. The first Kanva king, as we have seen, served the last Śuṅga king as his minister.

THE ANDHRA OR SĀTAVĀHANA DYNASTY

According to the Purāṇas the Andhra [king] Simuka or Śisuka or Sindhuка, as he is variously spelt, obtained the earth after destroying the power of Suśarman Kāṇvāyana and the remainder of the Śuṅga power.¹

¹ काण्वायनस्तो भृत्यः सुशमर्ण प्रसद्यतम् । शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेवं क्षपयित्वा बलं तदा । सिन्धुको अन्धुजातीयः प्राप्त्यतीमां वसुन्धराम् । Vāyu Purāṇa.

We have seen that the Kanvas reigned upto about [72-45] 27 or 28 B.C. Therefore, the rise of the Andhras as an imperial power dates from the last quarter of the first century B.C. Simuka who is stated to have reigned for 23 years, must have been on the throne of the Andhra kingdom for some time before he wrested the imperial power from the Kanvas in c. 28 B.C. Therefore we can place the rise of the Andhra power under Simuka in their original homeland in the middle of the first century B.C.

The differences regarding the date of the rise of the Andhra power among the scholars are due to the confused and somewhat contradictory statements in the Purāṇas as to the length of the reign enjoyed by the Andhras as also to the number of kings mentioned in the list of the Andhra dynasty. The Matsya Purāṇa states that nineteen Andhra kings will enjoy the earth [*Ekona-vim-satir-hyete Andbrā bhokshyanti vai mahīm*], but mentions thirty names. The Vāyu Purāṇa states that there will be thirty kings [*hyete vai nrīpāś trimśad Andbrā bhokshyanti ye mahīm*], but mentions only nineteen names. Then, again regarding the duration of the total length of the reign the Matsya states that the Andhras ruled for 460 years [एव च ४६० वर्षा राज्यं एव च] while the Vāyu states for 300 years [*Andbrā bhokshyanti vasudbām sate dvecha satam cha vai*].

Perhaps on the testimony of the Matsya Purāṇa Dr. V. Smith and some other scholars place Simuka in the third century B.C. and say that the dynasty came to an end in the third century A.D. Dr. Raychaudhuri, however, finds a way out of these Purāṇic contradictions and arrives at a reasonable conclusion of the date of Simuka. He rightly thinks that according to the tradition preserved in the Vāyu there were 19 kings who ruled for 300 years, while according to another tradition there were 30 kings who ruled for 400 years, as the Matsya says. He quotes the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar who holds that the longer list includes the names of princes belonging to all the branches of the so called Andhra-bhṛityā dynasty and that the longer period represents the total duration of the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches. The period of 300 years and 19 names

given in the Vāyu Purāṇa and hinted at in the Matsya 'refer to the main branch.' Dr. Raychaudhuri points to the existence of at least one line of Śātakarnis, distinct from the main branch, who ruled over Kuntala [the Kanarese districts] before the Kadambas. The Matsya list, he further points out, includes at least two kings of the line named Skandaśakti and Kuntala Śātakarṇi who are passed over in silence in Vāyu. Discussing other evidences on this point Dr. Raychaudhuri concludes that 'the Matsya Purāṇa which mentions 30 Śātavāhana kings includes not only the main branch but also the Kuntala line and if the main line of the Śātavāhana kings consisted of only about 19 princes and if the duration of these be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the first century B.C. and that his dynasty ceased to rule in the Northern Deccan in the third century A.D. The Kuntala line lasted longer and did not come to an end before the fourth or fifth century A.D., when it was supplanted by the Kadambas.¹ Thus the total duration of the rule of both the branches of Śātakarṇi is really more than 400 years.'²

Additional evidences to what Dr. Raychaudhuri has pointed out, as shown just above, may be cited to bear on the date of Simuka. The Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāyanikā, the wife of Śātakarṇi and daughter-in-law of Simuka is dated about 100 years anterior to Gautamiputra Śātakarni [Bühler, A.S.W.I. Vol. V p. 65]. Now Gautamiputra Śātakarni reigned during the first quarter of the second century A.D.³ The reign periods of three or four kings including one of regency and a short period of foreign rule which intervened between the death of Simuka and the accession of Gautamiputra must have covered more than a century. Therefore Simuka, the father-in-law of Nāyanikā must have acquired the imperial position in the last quarter of the first

¹ In the fifth century A.D. the Vākāṭaka King Harishcena is, however, described as the Lord of Kuntala in his inscription [Vide, Arch. Surv. Ind. IV, p. 124 ff.].

² PHAI, 3rd. ed. pp. 275-279.

³ See *infra* p. 175. His reign period is c. 106-130 A.D.

century B.C., a date that also agrees with the Purāṇic account as shown by Dr. Raychaudhuri, cited above.

The evidence supplied by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela may also be used with profit to solve the problem of Simuka's date. A passage in the inscription runs thus :

Pamchame cha dāng vase Nanda-rāja ti-vasa-sata [m] ogbāfitam Tanasulya-vātā-paṇḍīm nagaram pavesayati.) Dr. Raychaudhuri rightly holds and gives convincing reasons that *tivasasatam* means 300 years and not 103 years from the time of Nandaiāja. This makes Khāravela flourish in the last quarter of the first century B.C. Now in another passage of the inscription we find that Khāravela fought against Śātakainī, Lord of the West. This makes the two monarchs contemporaiy and consequently places Śātakainī's father, Simuka not much earlier than the last quarter of the first century B.C. as we have seen.

Curiously enough the Andhras call themselves Sātavāhanas in their epigraphs. They are also known as Śālivāhanas in literature. In two of their earliest epigraphs [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 93; Arch. Surv. West Ind. V. p. 64] the first and

The Race and House of Andhra second Andhra kings, Simuka [Śiśuka] and Satavahanas Krishna [Kanha] are described as belonging to the Sātavāhana race [Sādavāhana kula]. But the Purāṇas describe both Simuka and Krishna as Andhra kings. We also know that the Andhras were an ancient Dravidian people who occupied the Telugu country between the Krishnā and the Godāvari. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions them as living beyond the pale of Aryan civilisation. But from one of the epigraphs of the Andhra-Sātavāhana king Vāsishthiputra-Pulumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.] we know that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmans. The antiquity of the Andhras as a people is also testified to by Megasthenes who recorded, as Pliny says, that they maintained an army of 60,000 foot, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants and possessed a walled city. Aśoka also refers to them in his RE. XIII as within his territory. Now the question is that if the Andhras were an ancient Dravidian people and known to the Brāhmaṇa writers [c. 800 B.C.] as living beyond the pale of Aryan

civilisation how can we accept the Purānic account that Simuka, who, as we have seen, flourished in the 1st century B.C. was the founder of the Andhra Dynasty? How, again, to reconcile the claim to Brāhmaṇ descent of the Sātavāhana-kula [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 f.] with the fact that the ancient Andhras were a Dravidian people?

But these contradictions are more apparent than real. The Andhras were certainly an ancient Dravidian people as stated above and the Sātavāhanas were an Aryan people of Brāhmaṇ descent, completely different from the Andhras. Their original home, as their epigraphs show, was in Mahārāshṭra [Northern Deccan] when they rose to imperial power under Simuka in the first century B.C.¹ Later, about the middle of the second century A.D. the Sātavāhanas reconquered and probably colonised the Andhradeśa under Vāsishthīputra Puṇumāvī—after having subjugated the natives of the soil, the ancient Andhras. About this conquest we have plenty of epigraphic and numismatic evidences.² By the time the Pūrāṇas were composed, the Sātavāhanas may have lost their northern and western possessions, and got so much mixed with the people of the Andhradeśa whom they ruled and among whom they lived that the Pūrāṇa writers designated the rulers of the land also as Andhras and naturally named the first Sātavāhana king Simuka as the founder of the Andhra dynasty.

We have already stated that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇ rulers like the Śūṅgas and the Kanvas who preceded them. The Nāsik

Cave inscription of Vāsishthīputra Puṇumāvī
Brahman Rulers provides sufficient evidence to this fact. In it
their famous King Gautamīputra Śātakarnī has
been described as a unique Brāhmaṇ [*ekabambha*], equal in

¹ Dr. Raychaudhuri states that Sātavāhanas originally lived in the territory immediately south of Madhyadeśa [PHAI, 4th. ed. p. 179]; MM. Mirashi thinks that they lived somewhere near Berar and later conquered Andhradeśa. [J.N.S.I., II, p. 94].

² See *infra* p. 177 f. The title was in suspense since the time of Śātakarnī I. Vāsishthīputra Puṇumāvī, and not his father Gautamīputra, was called 'Lord of the Deccan' [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.].

prowess to Rāma [*Parasurāma*] and destroyer of the pride and prestige of the Kshatriyas [*Khatiyadarpa-māna-madana*].

EARLY SĀTAVĀHANA RULERS

The Pūrṇas name the founder of the Andhra dynasty as Simuka or Śisukā. Both these names appear in the early Sātavāhana epigraphs. In the Nānāghāṭ-Cave-Figure-Label Simuka Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi [Aich. Survey. West Ind. V., p. 64] Śimuka appears below the figure No. 1, the queen Nāyanikā and her husband Śātakarṇi jointly in label No. 2.

According to the Pūrṇas the second king of the dynasty was Krishna who was a brother of Simuka. He is to be identified with the Kanha [Krishṇa] mentioned in the Krishna Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Krishna [Senart, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 93] during whose reign a cave was constructed for the residence of the Śramaṇas of Nāsik.

The third king, according to the Pūrṇas, was Śātakarṇi. He was the son of Simuka. He is to be identified with the Śātakarṇi of the Hāthigumphā inscription, the Satakarṇi Nānāghāṭ Cave Figure-Label inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I and the Nānāghāṭ Cave inscription of Nāyanikā¹ and with Śri Śātakarṇi of the inscription on the gateway of the Sāñchi Stūpa. Śātakarṇi appears as Śri Śātakarṇi in the Sāñchi Inscription. He appears in other inscriptions without the title of Śri.

Sir John Marshall's objection to the last identification was due to the fact that he believed that the Śātakarṇi of the Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāṭ inscriptions belonged to the second century B.C. and, therefore, this Śātakarṇi could not have any control of Eastern Mālwā which was included in the territory of the early Sungas. We have seen that both these inscriptions belong to

¹ Arch. Surv. West Ind. V. p. 64 pp. 60 f. and 86 f. respectively.

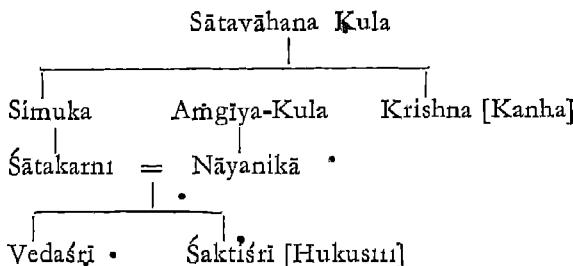
the last quarter of the first century B.C.¹ by which time the Śuṅgas had been replaced by the Kāṇṭhas and the Kāṇvas by the Andhras whose sovereignty necessarily included the territories jointly ruled by the Śungas. Dr. Raychaudhuri [PHAI, 3rd ed. p. 282], suggests that the first Śātakarṇi styled himself simply as such was natural, while it was equally natural for a later Śātakarṇis distinguishing themselves by the addition of a metronymic like Gautamiputra and Vāsishṭhiputra. The suggestion is illuminating. In the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāyanikā we get some details of his life. According to a restored portion of the inscription he was the son of Simuka [*Simuka-Śātavāhanasa Vamsa Vadhanasa*].² He married a princess of the Amgiya family whose rulers bore the title of Mahāraṭhi. He was the undisputed sovereign of the whole of the Deccan [*apratibhata chakra dakṣinā patha pati*] and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices [*Aśvamedha yajña dvitiya tsbatibh*.³] From the Sāñcī inscription we infer that he conquered Eastern Mālwā. He was a contemporary of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, and the latter's inscription at Hāthigurūḍhā tells us, Khāravela desisted his power and attacked the city of Musika. After Śātakarṇi's death his queen Nāyanikā acted as the regent of her minor sons Vedaśrī and Śaktisrī.

The sovereignty of the early Śātavāhana rulers in their homeland Mahārāshṭra probably ended temporarily in the beginning of the second century A.D. as a Nāsik Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta chief of one of the Śaka clans, dated 119 A.D. [See *infra* p. 209] indicates. The Kshaharātas ruled over Mahārāshṭra, the homeland of the Śātavāhanas who were driven to the further South. We give below a genealogical table of the early Śātavāhana kings drawn from the epigraphs who reigned undisturbed for about a century in their original homeland.

¹ *Supra*, p. 170; *infra*; Appendix II on the Chronology of Khāravela, p. 189 ff.

² Select Inscriptions, p. 187, note 2.

³ Ib. p. 189.



GAUTAMIPUTRA ŚĀTAKARNI (106 - 130 AD,

The set back suffered by the Sātavāhanas at the hands of the Kshaharātas appears to be short-lived, for the Nāsik Cave inscription of Gautamiputra Śātakarnī [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 73] dated C. 130 A.D.¹ proves his sovereignty over Mahāśāshtra. A Nāsik Cave inscription in the time of his son, Vāishīshṭiputra Puṣumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.] definitely states that he [Gautamiputra Śātakarnī] drove the Kshaharātas from their new settlements [*Khakharāta vasa niravasesa karasa*]. Further, a large number of coins from the Jogalthambhi [Nāsik] hoard containing silver coins of Nahapāna and his other pieces restruck by Gautamiputra leads to the same conclusion. We do not exactly know in what relation he stood with the first Śātakarnī or his sons. But we know from the same epigraph that he was the most outstanding monarch of the Sātavāhana dynasty. He not only restored the fallen fortunes of his dynasty [*Sātavāhana-kula yasa patithāpana karasa*], but brought under his rule vast territories, the names of which as given in the epigraph,² roughly correspond to Gujrat, Saurāshṭra, Mālwā, Berar, North Konkan and the region round Poona and Nāsik. The Jogalthambhi [Nāsik] hoard which contains the silver coins of Nahapāna shows that he restruck those

¹ Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 193.

² Asika, Asaka, Mūlaka [all neighbouring districts between the Krishnā and the Godāvai], Suratha, Kukuiā [a portion of Eastern Rajputana], Apāñanta [western coast], Anupa [a district in the Upper Narbadā], Vidaibha [Berar], Akaiāvantī [Eastern and western Mālwā].—Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.

of Nahapāna left there. He was a unique Brāhmaṇa [eka-bamhana] who could wield the weapon like Paraśurāma and Arjuna.

He reigned for at least twentyfour years [*c. 106-130 A.D.*]. This reign period can be computed on the following data. The inscriptions of Andhra Sātavāhana rulers from the time of Gautamīputra and his immediate successors are dated in their regnal years and not in the year of any era. The determination of their chronology depends chiefly on the inscriptions of their contemporaries and rivals—the Western Kshatrapas who use the Śaka era beginning in the year 78 A.D. The last recorded date of Nahapāna is Śaka 46 = A.D. 124 [Junār Cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna, Buhler, Arch. Surv. W. Ind. IV, p. 103]. This date has been naturally considered by scholars as the year of Gautamīputra's conquest of Mahāśāhtra and the last year of Nahapāna's reign there. Now from the Nāsik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakainī [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 71] we gather that Gautamīputra's conquest of Mahāśāhtra was in the 18th year of his reign. Therefore, his reign began in [124-18] 106 A.D. And since his last inscriptional date is regnal year 24 [*vide* his Nāsik Cave inscription, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 73], his reign period is fixed 106-130 A.D.

VĀSISHTHIPUTRA ŚRI PULUMĀVI (130 - 154)

In the Nāsik Cave inscription of Balaśrī in the time of her grandson Vāsishthiputra Puṇumāvi [Ep. Ind. VIII, 60 ff.] in the nineteenth year of his reign, she calls herself the grand mother of the present king and the mother of the late king. This fact undoubtedly establishes the relationship of Vāsishthiputra with his predecessor Gautamīputra Śātakainī whom he succeeded as his son and successor in *c. 130 A.D.* According to scholars he is identical with *Siro Polemaion* who, according to Ptolemy, had his capital at Paithān or Piatisṭhāna on the Godāvarī. He is styled as the king of Navanara [Navanora Svāmī Vāsishthiputra, Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 65 ff.]. Navanora or Navanagara [New city] has been identified by Bhandarkar with Pajthan, The Epigraph

[Ib.] calls Śrī Puṇumāvi, the Lord of the South [Dakṣinā patheśvara]. His inscriptions and coins prove that his dominions included the Kuṣhnā district. This undoubtedly, proves that the conquest of the Andhradeśa was accomplished by him. The Andhradeśa, we have seen, is not included in the List of territories ruled by Gautamiputra. That he had also retained his hold on Mahārāshtra is clear from his several Nāsik and the Cāle Cave Inscriptions. The Cāle Cave Inscription which is the last one ascribed to him, is dated in his regnal year 24 which is equivalent to A.D. 154 counted from the year of his accession in 130 A.D.¹ Thus he was a contemporary of the famous Śaka ruler of Ujjain, Rudradāman whose Junāgadh Rock Inscription is dated 150 A.D. This Junāgadha Inscription further tells us that Rudradāman twice defeated Śātakarnī, Lord of the Deccan but did not destroy him on account of his near relationship [Saṁbandha Viduīyatayā]. The nature of this close relationship is found in the Kanheī [Thana district] Buddhist Tank Inscription [Ludeis, No. 994] in which Puṇumāvi is represented as the husband of the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudia. Prof. Rapson identifies Rudia with Rudradāman I and Puṇumāvi with the Śātakarnī, 'Lord of the Deccan' of the Junāgadha Inscription. There is no doubt that Prof. Rapson is right. The name Śātakarnī is patronymic, which has been worn by several Śātavāhana kings, perhaps in loving memory of Śī Śātakarnī, the first builder of the Śātavāhana Empire. Many other Śātavāhana kings have not used this patronymic appellation in their epigraphs. But that the Śātavāhana kings are called simple Śātakarnīs by foreign rulers is clear from the two inscriptions hitherto discovered. One is the Junāgadha Inscription of Rudradāman, ruler of Saurāshṭra and the other is the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, in which only, 'Śātakarṇī' appears to mean the two Śātavāhana kings of different periods. Further, it may be pointed, that Rudradāman calls the Śātakarnī of his time as 'Lord of the Deccan' [Dakṣinā-paiha-pati]. This should put a quietus to the doubt that he can be any other than Puṇumāvi who is the first Śātavāhana ruler to conquer the Andhra

¹ Sarkar, Select Inscriptions, p. 203.

country and described as the 'Lord of the Deccan' in the family epigraph [Daksinā patheśvara, Ep. Ind. VIII, 60 ff]. Andhra-deśa was not included in the dominions of his father Gautamiputra.

YAJNAŚRI ŚĀTAKĀRNĪ (154 - 181 AD)

The last great king of the Śātavāhana Dynasty was Yajñāśri Śātakārnī. His relationship with Vāishīṣṭiputra Puṣumāvī is not clear. His inscriptions have been found in Nāsik, Kanheri, and also in Chinna which is in the Kistna district. His coins have been found in Gujarat, Kāthiāwār, East Mālwā, Aparānta [Western coast of the Deccan], the Central Provinces and the Kistna district. This clearly proves that he ruled over both Mahārāshtra and the Andhra Country. He reigned for at least 27 years. His latest inscription, the one found in Chinna in the Kistna district is dated in the 27th year of his reign. Dr. V. Smith points out that his silver coins on the model of those of the Śaka rulers suggest that he conquered some lands from the Śakas. Some of his coins bear the figure of a ship with a fish and a couch. This proves that Yajñāśri had developed a naval power and maritime commerce.

DECLINE OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA POWER

Very little is known about Yajñāśri's successors except their names. During their time the Śātavāhana power rapidly declined yielding place to new powers—the Ābhīras in Mahārāshtra and the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas in the Eastern Deccan about the middle of the 3rd. century A.D.

THE CONDITION OF THE DECCAN DURING THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD¹

In the foregoing pages has been stated the political history of the Deccan during the Śātavāhana period. The inscriptions which

¹ For further details see Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article in the Indian Antiquary, June 1919, pp. 77—83.

throw light on this history, also throw light on the social and economic condition of Mahārāshtra during this period.

Buddhism was in exceedingly flourishing condition and was tolerated by the Brāhmaṇ Sātavāhanas. The Buddhist religion served as a hand-maid to the art of building, especially cave temples and dwellings which were highly developed.

Religion : Bud- Almost all the caves so far found in the Deccan dhism and the Art of Cave-Building are dedicated to Buddhism and were excavated

during the Sātavāhana period. They were of two kinds—[1] *Chaitya-grīha* or temples, and [2] *Layanas* or residential quarters for *Bhikshus*. The first are with vaulted roofs and horse-shoe shaped windows over the entrance, and have interiors consisting of a nave and side aisles with a small stūpa, at the inner circular end. They are the improved models of their proto-types in the Barābar Caves [C 300 B.C.] and they have been imitated later by the builders of Christian basilicas. The *layana* consists of a hall surrounded by a number of cells, each cell containing as rule a stone-bench for a monk to sleep upon. Each layana cave had one or two rock cut cisterns attached to it. Different parts of all these caves, whether Chaitya-grihas or layanas were excavated by all sorts and conditions of men at their own expense, showing what hold Buddhism had over popular mind. They not only incurred the cost of building these caves or any parts thereof but made ample provisions for their repairs and for the maintenance of the Bhikshus who resided there. For repairs, villages were generally granted. For feeding the Bhikshus, pieces of land, sometimes villages, were given, some-times cash deposits in permanent endowments [*Akshaya nīvi*] were made to the guilds to provide robes [*Chivara*] out of the annual interest of the endowment fund. The Bhikshus occupied the caves during the rainy season only [*Vassayāsa*]. For the remainder of the year they spent in religious tours just as the Jaina *Sādhus* do even now. It appears that certain caves were reserved for certain sects of the Buddhist monks. For example, Cave no. 2 at Nāsik was assigned to the Bhadrāyaṇa Bhikshu Saṅgha by Gautamiputra Śatakarṇi's mother, Balaśrī [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.]. The cave at Cāle built in the time of Vāsishṭhiputra

Puṣumāvi was given to the Mahāsaṅghikas [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 71.]

Brahmanism

Brahmanism was also in a flourishing condition. Śātakarṇi I and his queen performed a number of sacrifices, the description of which has been partly preserved in the mutilated inscription of Nāyanikā at Nānāghāṭ [A. S. & W. I. V., 60-1; Lüder's List no. 1112]. They seem to have celebrated no less than twenty sacrifices. *Aśvamedha* was twice performed. Among other sacrifices performed were *Gavīmāyanam*, *Agnyādhēya*, *Rājasīya*, *Āptoryāma*, *Angrasāmāyanam*, *Satātrātra*. The *dakṣibhūṭ* or sacrificial fee consisted of villages, Kārshāpanas, ordinary and milch cows, elephants and horses, horse-chariots, silver-posts, silver ornaments, dresses and so on. The highest number of cows given is 11,000 and Kārshāpanas 24,000 [= about 686 Suvarṇas, 35 silver Kārshāpanas being equal to 1 Suvarṇa].¹ This was certainly Brahmanism of a most vigorous type. The same epigraph begins with an adoration of Dhamma, India, Saṅkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, the sun and the moon and the four guardians of the quarters [Lokapālas]—Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava. The names Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva prove the early prevalence of the worship of Krishna and his family in the Deccan. The homage to India shows that the worship of the great Vedic god survived to the first century A.D. Who the God Dharma was is not clear. That he was not meant in the inscription as a lokapāla like Yama or Varuṇa is clear.

Besides the sacrificial Brahmanism which revived with a great flourish in Mahārāshṭra was the Brahman rule of the Sātavāhanas, Vaishnavism and Saivism also flourished side by side. We

Vaishnavism,
Saivism and
Naga Cult

have seen that the names Vāsudeva Saṅkarshaṇa prove the existence of the Vaishṇava cult. Prof. Bhandarkar points out that such names as

Gopāla, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇupālita occurring in the epigraphs of the period provide further evidence for the deve-

¹ Ib. p. 81.

lopment of Vaishnavism. The worship of Śiva, he further points out, was far more prevalent in the Deccan during this period, if names can be taken as evidence, 'Such names as Bhūtapāla, Mahādevanaka, Śivadatta, Śivaghosha, Śivapālita, Śivabhūti, Śivadāta, Bhavagopa and so forth clearly show that this god was popularly worshipped under four names, viz., Śiva, Mahādeva, Bhava, and Bhūtapāla. That his vehicle, the bull was also adored may be seen from the names, Nandin, Rishavanaka and Rishavadāta. The names Skandapālita, Śivaskandila, and Śiva-Skandagupta show that the god Skanda was worshipped both separately and conjointly with Śiva. Such names as Nāga, Saipa and Sarpila point to the prevalence of serpent-worship.'¹

A very interesting and important feature of the religious condition of this period is that we find many foreigners embracing either Buddhism or Brāhmanism. During this period many foreign tribes e.g., the Yavanas, Śakas, Pallavas and Ābhiras had made settlements in India. Many epigrafs of the Foreigners embrace Hinduism period show that they not only embraced Buddhism and Brāhmanism but also adopted Hindu names. Prof. Bhandarkar says: 'In Cave inscriptions Yavanas are frequently mentioned as making gifts in connection with chaityas or monastic residences. At Cārle we have two names of Yavanas and one named Sihadhoya [Singhadhvaja] and the other Dhaima. At Junar we find mention of three called Isila, Chita [Chitia] and Chandia. At Nāsik the name of only one Yavana is specified, viz., Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharma Deva. They all turned Buddhist laymen and that all of them except one had assumed Hindu names.'²

Heliodorus, an ambassador from Antalkidas to Bhāgabhadra of Vidiṣā was a Vaishnava. Rudradāman, another Śaka chief was a staunch Brāhmanist.

Another feature of the period is the catholic spirit of religion. The Sātavāhana king Gautamiputra Śātakarnī, his mother Gau-

¹ Ib. p. 78.

² Ib. Also Cf. Indian Antiquary, 1911, p. 15 ff.

Catholicity of Hinduism

tamī Balaśū and his son Puṇumāvi were staunch followers of Brāhmaṇism but excavated caves for Buddhist monks. Their charities were not confined to their faith but freely extended also to Buddhism. Gautamī Balaśū excavated a Cave for the residence of the Bhadrāyana Buddhist monks [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 60 ff.]. Śātakarṇi and his grandson Puṇumāvi granted a piece of land and a village respectively for the maintenance of the monks and repairs of the Cave [Ep. Ind. VIII, pp. 71; 65 ff.]. They similarly gave a village to the Buddhist establishment at Čārla. Another noteworthy fact of the religious condition of this period is that the espousal of a different religion did not entail the loss of caste. Perhaps the most typical case is that of a Brāhmaṇ called Ayitilu, whose wife Bhāyilā makes the benefaction of a Chaitya-griha to the Buddhist community, settled in the Kudā Caves [Luder's List No. 1050]. That the husband was a Buddhist is certain, because he has actually been called an upāsaka.¹ An important example of the liberal spirit of the Hindu society of that age was the marriage of the Brāhmaṇ Sātavāhana prince Śrī-Puṇumāvi with the daughter of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman.

An idea of the constitution of the Hindu Society in the Deccan at this period is obtained from the status and caste names frequently specified of the donors mentioned in the Cave inscriptions. Those of the highest rank amongst these were of course the Mahārāthis [Mahāśāshṭrikas], Mahābhōjas and the Mahāsenāpatis. They occupied the position of the feudatory chieftains. Second in order of rank came the officers such as Amātyas or Rājāmātyas, Mahāmātias, and Bhandāgārikas. The former two correspond to the modern District Collectors and the third to the Treasurer. Of the same status [*i.e.*, of the second rank] are Nigama, Sārthavāha and Śreshṭhin. Nigama is an ordinary merchant, and Sārthavāha, the leader of a caravan of traders. Śreshṭhin was the head of a guild of merchants. The latter two, again, correspond to aldermen

¹ Ib. p. 79.

and took an important part in the administration of the town corporate. The third in order of social rank were the Lekhaka [Scribe] Vaidya [physician] Malakiya [Cultivator], Suvarṇakāra [Goldsmith], Gāndhika [Druggist]. To the lowest class have to be assigned Vardhakī [Carpenter], Mälakāra [Gardener], Lohavāṇija [Blacksmith], and Dāssaka [Fisherman]. The middle class, which consisted chiefly of cultivators and mercantile people was split up into a number of grīhas [homesteads] or Kuṭumbas or Kulas [families]. The head of each of them was called a *grīhapati* or *kuṭumbin* and occupied a position of authority. One noteworthy custom of this period is for a male individual of the Kshatruṇya class to specify his metronymic along with his proper name. In Northern India the practice was to form the metronymic from the name of the country over which the mother's father ruled. Thus Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛha styles himself as Vaidehi-putra, son of the daughter of the Vaidehi prince. In South India the custom seems to be to adopt the metronymic from that of a Brāhmaṇa *gotra*. Accordingly we have got such metronymics as Gautamiputra, Vāsishthiputra, Kautsi, Kauśikī, etc., all derived from Brāhmaṇa *gotras*.¹

Important facts re. the economic condition of the Deccan can be gleaned from the epigraphs of the period. The currency of the province was kārshāpanas, both silver and copper. The

Economic condition : Currency Nānāghāṭ Inscription of Nāyanikā speaks of having given 24,000 kārshāpanas as *dakṣiṇa*

The Nāsik Inscription of Ushavadāta of about the same period speaks of 70,000 kārshāpanas having been given away to gods and Brāhmaṇas. In this particular epigraph we are distinctly told that 70,000 kārshāpanas are equivalent to 200 gold coins, each suvarna being equivalent to 35 kārshāpanas.² Here the rate of exchange between a silver kārshāpana and the current gold coin is indicated

¹ IA., June 1919.

² Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 82 ff.

at 1:35. The reference to the Suvarna coins, according to Prof. Rapson, must be the contemporary gold currency of the Kushans. Ushavadāta's father-in-law Nahapāna was a Kshatrapa not only of Kujula Kadphises but also of Vima Kadphises, who was the first Kushān sovereign to introduce gold coinage. No other foreign ruler, either Indo-Bactrian or Indo-Scythian, seems to have struck it before him. Vima Kadphises's gold coins must, therefore, have been current in Nahapāna's time at the exchange rate of 1:35 to the indigenous silver kāshāpanas.¹

Śrenis or craft-guilds were a normal feature of the age. At Govaīdhana near the Nāsik or Tiraśmi Caves there were no less than four different descriptions of guilds, viz., *tilapīshaka* or oilmiller's guild, *Odayantrika* or *Srenis* guild of artisans fabricating hydraulic engines, *Kularika* or potter's guild and *Kolika-nikāya* or weaver's guild. In the town near the Junar Caves there were at least three guilds, one of Dharmikas, or corn-dealers, the second of *Vainsakāras*, bamboo-workers and the third of *Kānsakāras* or braziers. There must have been many more guilds not only at Govaīdhana or near Junar but also in other districts, of which no mention has been made. The Jātakas which portray social life of the sixth century B.C. make mention of several such guilds. The conclusion is plain that both North and South India was studded with guilds from the sixth century B.C. to the third century A.D. Now the prevalence of craft-guilds shows that institutions of self-government were by no means uncommon in India. The Śrenis were not only craft or trade-guilds but were also something like modern banks, because anybody could invest any sums here and receive interest on them. Further, very often perpetual endowments [*akshaya nīvi*] were made to them. Ushavadāta made two such permanent endowments to the two Kulika-Nigamas or Śrenis, one for providing new robes [Chaiyarakāni] and the other for minor food necessities [*Krishānna*] [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 82 ff.] It is an important matter to note that although Ushavadāta was a high personage, the son-in-

¹ IA., June, 1919, p. 81.

law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna, ruling over Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawār, Gujrāt and the Deccan, he did not arrange for the feeding and robing from the local district treasury but deposited sums in two guilds. Why did he do so? It was probably because an empire is established and destroyed in no time, but a guild was a permanent institution.¹

Another important fact that can be gleaned from the epigraphs of the period is the rate of interest yielding from capital investments. For the *Aksayā-nīvi* of Ushavadāta to the two guilds—

Rate of Interest one paid interest at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, the other at the rate of 9 per cent per annum [Ib.]. The rate of interest appears to be high in our time. But in ancient India it was not considered high. Monthly interest at the rate of 2 per cent from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3 per cent from a Kshatriya, 4 per cent from a Vaiśya, and 5 per cent from a Śūdra has been sanctioned by old law givers [Manu, VIII, 142, Yāj. II, 38, Vishnu VI, 2].

Kārshāpana was a coin [of copper, gold or silver] weighing 1 Kaśha = 80 Ratis = 146.4 grains [1 Rati = 1.83 grains]. The gold Suvarna, the copper Paṇa and Kautilya's silver Dharana are

Weight of the Currency of this weight. The silver Dhaṇa or Purāna was however, usually of 32 Ratis = 58.56 grains. But the silver coins of Nahapāna, though called kārshāpanas were evidently lighter than the standard kārshāpana shown above. They were only of about 36 grains and thirty five of them made one Suvaraṇa.²

Foreign commerce and trade were flourishing, and the Deccan took no insignificant part in the commercial relations of India with the west. An account of it is contained in the *Periplus of Foreign Commerce* the *Erythrean Sea*, which describes the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India. Ships from the Western Countries sailed down the Red Sea and followed the Arabian Coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza

¹ Ib. p. 82.

² S. I. Vol., p. 158, n. 5.

[Broach] and others direct to the ports of Lymrika [Malabar]. From Barygaza the coast immediately adjoining stretched from the north directly to the south, and the country is, therefore, called Dakshinabares [Dakṣiṇāpatha]. Among the marts in the island part of the South Country, there were two of particular importance—Paithan and Tagara [Mod. Ter, in the Naldurg district, Nizam's Dominions].¹ The harbours were Surppaia [Śopāra] and Keliena [Kalyāna]. In regard to the last port we are informed that it was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the time of the Elder Sarganes. The Elder Sarganes is probably Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty. Ptolemy who wrote only six decades after the author of the *Periplus* does not mention Kalyana which probably lost all importance by that time. We have already noticed the numismatic evidence of the development of marine and commerce in the time of Yañśārī Śātakarṇi [Supra p. 178], coins having a two-masted ship with a fish and a couch and the legend of *Siri Yañña Śātakanisa* [J.N.S.I. Vol. III, pt. I, 1941, pp. 43-45.]

The Sātavāhana kings were great patrons of Prākṛit, as a large number of official epigraphs recorded in that language show. Tradition ascribes to one of their kings Hāla with the authorship of a Prākṛit poem called the *Sattasai* [Saptasataka]. The reputed

Literature author of the original Br̥hatkathā in the Paiśāchi dialect, Gunādhya, is said to have flourished in this period. It must be noted that the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings, though Brahmins, used Prākṛit for their documents, although the Prākṛit of that time shows a considerable influence of Sanskrit. Mr. Allen points out that Sarva-Varman produced the *Kātantra* for the benefit of an Andhra king who was "ashamed of his ignorance of Sanskrit and found Pāṇini too difficult" [Camb. Hist. Ind. Vol. I, p. 61.]

II KING KHĀRAVELA OF KALIṄGA

While the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the western Deccan under their third king Śātakarṇi, the Kaliṅgas rose as a great rival power

¹ JRAS, 1901, 537 ff.

to them in the Eastern Deccan. After Asoka's time the history of Kalinga [roughly equivalent to modern Orissa] is wrapped in darkness. The veil of darkness is lifted by the discovery of the Hāthigumpha Inscription¹ on the Udayagiri hills near Bhubanesvara in the Puri District. The inscription which is in Brahmi is a comprehensive record of the achievements of its author, King Khāravela of Kalinga. It says that Khāravela was the third king of the Cheta dynasty. Having spent his early youth up to the fifteenth year in receiving all kinds of physical exercises and instructions in the different branches of study, e.g., writing, arithmetic, studies on law,² necessary for a crown prince, he was consecrated to the office of the heir-apparent in his 16th year and crowned King on the completion of his 24th year [*Sampurna chaturvibhīta rāshī*] at about 39 B. C.³

He spent the first year of his reign [*padbhame vase*] in completing certain works of public utility in the city of Kalitvā, such as repairs of walls and gateways damaged by storm [*Vāsa-vitihī gopura-pākāra*] and construction of tanks with Events of his Reign Steps for the supply of cool water at a cost of 1 lakh of coins [*sitala-tadiga-pādiya cha bandha-payati*], and provided recreations to his subjects [*prakāshas cha rāñjayati*] at a cost of 35 lakhs of coins [*pansti satisatayati skt. panchatrimśat satasabhisraibh*]. In the second year of his reign [*dutije cha vase*] he defied the power of Śātakarni by sending to the west [*Sātakanini pachchimbādisam*] a large force consisting of horse, elephant, foot and chariots which attacked the city of Aśvā on the Krishṇā and destroyed it [*sitasiti*]. In the third year of his reign he provided all sorts of entertainments to the citizens e.g., high class dancing, music [vocal and instrumental] shows and feasts [*gandharva-vedabudho dipa-nati gīta vādīna sāgīra mārasamāja*]. In the fourth year of his reign [*Cūḍāga*] he com-

¹ Ep. Ind. XX, 1930; IBORS, 1918 and 1928.

² सरीरवता कीडिना कुआर कीडिका वाला एक बैरामी गाड़ी, जो विधि-विसारदेन

³ It is not clear whether his father died before or at the end of the year. About the date of his accession see Appendix II.

peled the Rāstrikas and Bhojakas to submit to him. In the fifth year of his reign [*pāñchame cha dāni vase*] he completed a work of great public utility : he extended from the Tanusulia road up to the city the canal which king Nanda had opened 300 years ago [Nañdrāja tivasa-sata-oghi-titau tanusulia vāti pāñcadi nāgarām pavesyati]. In the sixth year [*Chebhate Vase*] he bestowed large favours [*anugaha anekāni*] to the people of urban and rural areas [*pāsra-jānapadām*] which cost him one hundred thousand coins [*sata sabaschi*]. The account of the achievements of the seventh year of his reign is doubtful. In the eighth year of his reign [*aśame cha vase*] he stormed Gorathagiri and harassed the people of Rajgṛīha. Gorathagiri has not yet been identified. It was probably a hill-fort guarding Rājagṛīha. In the ninth year of his reign he built a large Palace of Victory [*mūhūr-vijaya-pāśādam*] at a cost of 38 lakhs of coins [*aśatāśāra sata sabasehi*]. The record of the tenth year cannot be made out. In the eleventh year of his reign [*ekādasame cha vase*] having possessed himself of a large booty obtained from the retreating enemy [*piyātānām skt. paliyita satru-nām*] reclaimed the ruins of the old city of Pithundā, founded by a former king, and had it cultivated by ass drawn ploughs [*pūvarāja-nivesitām pithudām gadhabba naṅgalena kāṣayati*]. It is clear that he turned a ruined city into a large agricultural farm.¹ In the same year he broke a confederacy of Tamil States of the South [*abhinat trāmiradeśa² samghātām*]. In the twelfth year of his reign [*bārasame cha vase*] the achievements recorded are as follows : He led a large expeditionary force to the north [*uttarāpadha*] and created consternation among the people of Magadha while he watered his elephants and horses in the Ganges [*Māgadhanām cha viplām bhayam janeto bathasām Gangāya piyayati*]. He compelled Brīhaspatimitia, king of Magadha [*Magadhanām cha rājanām*] to submit to him [*pāde bandhapayati*] and brought back the image of

¹ Dr. Jayaswal reads the above passage differently : *pūvarāja nivesitām pithudaga dabba naṅgale nekāṣayati* "Caused the grassy overgrowth of Piithudaka [city] founded by a former king, to be let out in the Langala [river].

² Sanskritised version of Jayaswal's reading.

Jina belonging to Kalinga, which had been taken away by king Nanda, and carried with him a large booty from Anga and Magadha [*Anga-Magadha-Vasum*]. He also refers to his victory over the king of the Pandyas in the same year from whom he brought hundreds of thousands of gems and pearls [*muta-mani-ratanaṁ durbālapayati sataśabasāni*]. He then adorned the hill-tops with strong and beautiful gopuras and wonderful residences for elephants [*abbhūtam bastinivāsam*]. In the thirteenth year of his reign [terā sāve cha vase] he built in the Kumāri hill [*Udayagiri-Khandagiri hills*] caves for the residence of the Aihats during the rainy season and other worthy purposes at a cost of more than 15 lakhs.

So the achievements of King Khāravela have been chronicled from year to year up to the thirteenth year of his reign. We can, therefore, conclude that he reigned at least for 13 years. The inscription also throws light on the personality of the great king. He was a Jaina by faith, but tolerant to all religions which he equally respected [*sava-pīsamda-pūjaka*], and repaired the temples of all gods [*sava-devāyatana-sakāra-kāraka*]. Himself deeply learned in sāstras and all kinds of arts, he greatly patronised them. He is described as a Rājarshi and a scion of the Vasu [same as Cheta or Chedi] family and possessing a mighty force of irresistible strength [*aparibhata-chaka-vāhana-valī*].

[APPENDIX II]

THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF KHĀRAVELA

A lot of controversy has cropped up round the date of Khāravela for a long time. Dr. Jayaswal identified Bahasatimita [Brihaspatimitra] of the inscription with Pushyamitra, the first Sunga king who began his reign in c. 184 B.C. Consequently he placed Khāravela also in the second century B.C. His argument is that Brihaspati is the lord of *Pushya* constellation and, therefore, Brihaspatimitra may be taken as Pushyamitra. The argument is fantastic. As an aid to his thesis he read a passage in L. 16 of

the epigraph as follows : *pānatariya-satbi-vasa-sate-rāja-muriya-kāla vachchine* and deduced the date as 165th year of the Maurya-
era. If 322 B.C., when the founder of the Maurya dynasty began
his rule, was the year of the Maurya *kālu* [era or age], then [322-
165] 157 B.C. would be the date of Khāravela and as such he would
be a contemporary of Brihaspatimitia *alias* Pushyamitra Śuṅga.
We have already seen that the identification has been established
on a fantastic argument. We do not know if Chandragupta
Maurya ever founded an era which has been used by any sovereign
of his dynasty in their records. Aśoka, we know, used for his
records his regnal years.

Dr. Vincent Smith accepted the view that Khāravela, king
of Kaliṅga, defeated Pushyamitria who is called Bahasatimita in
the Hāthigumpha inscription [Oxford History of India]. Prof.
Dubreuil seems to accept the view that Khāravela was an anta-
gonist of Pushyamitria and that the Hāthigumphā inscription is
dated 165th year of Maurya-kāla which corresponds to the 13th
year of the reign of Khāravela.¹ Sten Konow also accepted Jayas-
wal's identification of Bahasatimita with Pushyamitria.²

It is clear that when Dr. Jayaswal first published in 1918 his
reading of the passage discussing the epoch-making date and his
arguments of identification of Bahasatimita with Pushyamitria
[JBORS, IV], his theory completely held the field, and the above-
mentioned writers were naturally influenced by his views.

The reading of the passage, as has been generally accepted at
present, takes the phrase *pānatariya satasahasra* in connection with
the building of the caves for the Arhats and other purposes and
decorating them with pillars, etc., and interpreted to signify the
amount of 5 lakhs of coins as the cost of building.³ The sentence
ends here, and is not to be extended to include the words which
follow and is read by Dr. Jayaswal as *rāja muriya kāla vachchine*

¹ PHAI, p. 255.

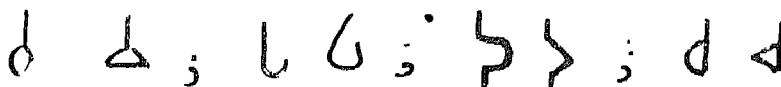
² Acta Orientalia, I. 29.

³ Compare the amounts of money he states to have spent in
connection with works of public utility in the first, sixth, ninth,
thirteenth year of his reign, e.g., Lines 3, 6 and 16.

tacked with the phrase *pānamtariya satbi vasa sate* [again wrongly read]. The passage should be read as : *mukhiya kala bochchinam* [*mukhya kalā = gitānṛityadi a bochchinam = samanvitam*] as the beginning of a flesh sentence which speaks of similar arts introduced by Khātavela, besetting peace-time activities. The whole sentence runs thus : *mukhiya-kala-bochchinam cha choyathi amga santikam turiyam upādayati* [Skt. = *mukhya kalā-bachchinnam = gitānṛitya-adisāmanvitam chatuh shashtyaṅgam = Chatushashthiprakāra vayavishvamk Śāntikam tauryam = rāgarhitah kālopayogitāya trikām utpādayati*].¹ There is no reference to *maurya kāla* in the sentence.

This accepted reading of the passage, thus, cuts the ground off the feet of the theory of the contemporaneity of Khātavela with Pushyamitra Śunga. We have, therefore, to seek elsewhere for positive evidence of the date of Khātavela.

[1] First, let us consider the palaeographical and archaeological evidences. The decided opinion of scholars on palaeography places the Hāthigumphā records ‘probably later than the Nānāghāṭ records and certainly later than the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus’.² Consequently they cannot be placed much before the close of the first century B.C. Prof. Rama Prasad Chanda proved³ that the Nānāghāṭ record is not ‘earlier than the later half of the first century B.C.’ Even authorities on Indian Architecture support that the ‘Nāsik Hall is to be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C.’ [C.H.I., Vol. I., p. 637]. The signs and characters like ए, ए, अ, औ etc., in the Nānāghāṭ Cave inscription show a decided advance over the Aśokan, or for the matter of that Śunga scripts. They are on the way to become triangular :



¹ S.I. pp. 210—213.

² Ib. p. 206, n. 1.

³ M.A.S.I., No. I.

On these grounds the Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions, one at the time of Śātakarnī I, and the other of his wife, Queen Nāyanikā, are placed in the last quarter of the first century B.C. So, the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela, which as we have seen, is according to palaeographists, slightly later than or contemporaneous with the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, cannot be earlier than the first century B.C., and as such its author cannot be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga who flourished in the second century B.C. and that the Bahasatimita of the inscription must be someone else.

[ii] I have shown elsewhere [Indian History Congress Proceedings 1943, pp. 109—16 and the B.C. Law Memorial Volume pp. 210—18] that the Barhut sculptured gateway bearing an inscription is about a century later than the time of Pushyamitra Śunga i.e., about the first quarter of the first century B.C. Authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of Mañchapuri Cave in which there is an inscription of Khāravela's queen are posterior to the sculptures of Barhut [C.H.I., Vol. 1, p. 639]. Consequently Khāravela could not have flourished in the second century B.C.

Secondly, the internal evidences provided by the inscription itself help to fix the age of Kharavela.

[i] Line 4 of the inscription speaks of one Śātakarṇī ruling in the west against whom Khāravela sent an expedition. Who is this Śātakarṇī, but the one who was the third Andhra king and appears in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of the first century B.C. as the first Śātakarnī among the Sātavāhana king? First, we do not know of any other Śātakarnī who flourished in the second century B.C. and ruled in the west and who could be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śunga. Further, it must be noted that an inscription on the Sānchi Stūpa no. I records a donation made in the reign of a king Śātakarnī. The inscription is not dated, but there is now a general consensus among archaeologists that it probably belongs to the first century B.C. This shows that Eastern Mālwā was in possession of the Andhras in the first century B.C. But we know for certain that in the second century B.C., in the time of Pushyamitra Śunga at any rate, Eastern Mālwā with its capital Vidisā was in possession of the Śungas.

Consequently the Śātakarṇi of the Śāñchī inscription must have belonged to the first century B.C.

[ii] Line 6 of the Hāthigumphā inscription states *Pamchame cha dani vase Nanda rāja tivasa sata ogbātitām tanasulhya vāṭā paṇḍādiṁ nagaram pavesayati.* “[Khātavela had an aqueduct, which had been dug by king Nanda 300 years ago, conducted into the capital in the fifth year of his reign.”] There is absolute unanimity now among scholars that ‘*ti-vasa-sata*’ means 300 years. Dr. Jayaswal himself has accepted this interpretation but identifies Nandaīāja with Nandivardhana so that Pushyamitīa and Khātavela might be placed in the second century B.C. But Nandivardhana was a Śāśunāga king and had nothing to do with Kaliṅga. It was Mahāpadma Nanda who is described in the Purāṇas to have brought ‘all under his sole sway,’ and who ‘uprooted all Kshatīiyas.’ So one should identify Nandaīāja of the Hāthigumphā inscription with Mahāpadma Nanda and not with Nandivardhana. Now, the Nanda dynasty was uprooted by Chandragupta Maurya who ascended the throne in c. 322 B.C. According to the Purāṇas, Mahāpadma was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled for 12 years. Thus Mahāpadma Nanda could not have reigned beyond $322 + 12 = 334$ B.C. Therefore, the incident of extending the aqueduct 300 years after Nandaīāja took place on or before 34 B.C. The mention of a round figure of 300 years, which is a conventional form of expression, may not be taken too literally. If 14 or 15 years be added to it, the date of the extension of the canal comes to [34—15] c. 19 B.C. Now Khātavela was on the throne for 5 years when he performed this act of extension. The preceding lines in the epigraph give details of his early life: At the age of 16 he became a Yavarāja and at the age of 24 he was consecrated king. Therefore, he was 29 years old when he extended the aqueduct. We may thus draw up a tentative table of his chronology with the help of 19 B.C. as a starting point.

[i] Birth. c. $19+29=c. 48$ B.C.

[ii] Installation to Yauvarājya. c. $48-16=32$ B.C.

[iii] Rājyābhiseka. c. $48-24=24$ B.C.,

It is not clear when he died. The chronology of events in his reign has been drawn up to the 13th year. It can reasonably be inferred that if he had another achievement to his credit after the 13th year of his reign he would not have left it unrecorded, and it is also reasonable to suppose that if he was hale and hearty after the recorded date, he would not sit idle and do nothing worth recording. Therefore, it is possible that he was either ill or dead when the thirteenth or fourteenth year of his reign was current or ended. In that case, his death may be put in [c. 24–14] B.C. at the age of 38. That Khāravela died about this time finds some corroboration from two other records in the Mañchapuri Cave in the Udayagiri Hills, built by Khāravela's wife who survived him. One belongs to Vakradeva, king of Kalinga [Ep. Ind. XIII, p. 160] and the other to Kumāra Vaḍukha [Lüders, No. 1348]. Vakradeva, no doubt, was a successor of Khāravela, though his relationship with the latter is not clear. The character of the record, according to all competent scholars [Barua, O. Br. Ins. pp. 145–153. Sarkar, Select Ins., p. 214 f.] is Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C. So the last decade of the first century B.C. may be assigned to the death of Khāravela, whose queen lived and his immediate successors reigned at the close of the same century.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF FOREIGN INVASIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

The period under review is one of great upheaval which followed the downfall of the great Maurya empire and break up of the political unity of the country. The principal political powers were the Śūṅgas in Middle India and the Andhras in the Deccan. The Punjab and the North Western Frontiers were ruled by a scion of the Maurya dynasty,¹ who was evidently too weak to resist the foreigners. The foreign powers which in succession poured through the gates of India during this period and made settlements in the country were the Yavanas [Bactrian Greeks], the Śakas [Indo-Scythians], the Pahlavas [Indo-Parthians], and the Kushāṇas. They all will be treated under separate sections.

[SEC. A]

• THE INDO-GREEKS

After Alexander's death, the Greek colony of Bactria formed part of the empire of Seleukos Nikator who ruled the eastern possessions of Alexander. About the middle of the third century B.C. there were two important defections from the Seleukid empire. Parthia under its national leader Aisakes and Bactria under the Greek Governor Diodotus revolted. Diodotus was succeeded to the throne by his son Diodotus II. About the last quarter of the third century B.C., Diodotus II was killed by another Greek adventurer, Euthydemos who seized the throne for himself.

Antiochus III, the Seleukid emperor of Syria [c. 223-185 B.C.] made a determined attempt to recover Euthydemos. He invaded Bactria about 208 B.C. and, after a protracted battle lasting for two years, made peace with Euthydemos, recognised the

¹ Subhāgasena, a descendent of Virasena, the founder of an independent western line of the Mauryas, according to Tārānātha.

independence of Bactria and gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos.

Following this peace with Euthydemos, Antiochus invaded India [c. 207 B.C.] and renewed the traditional friendship of his royal house with the Indian king of Gandhāra, Sophagasesnos [Subhāgasena], who, as the name suggests, was the successor of Viśasena. Viśasena, according to Buddhist writers, represented the western line of Asoka's successors, ruling in Gandhāra.¹ Receiving a gift of wild elephants from his Indian ally, Antiochus hurried back with all speed towards Mesopotamia where serious troubles were brewing.

In the meantime, Euthydemos pushed the frontiers of the Bactrian kingdom southwards until they included the lower portion of Afghanistan. He also watched with keen interest the Indian expedition of Antiochus III which, if it had no result of importance, showed the weakness of resistance which naturally followed the break up of the Mauryan empire. So, after the Seleukid forces had withdrawn, the eyes of Euthydemos longingly turned towards the land of the Five Rivers. In his southward move, he was able to possess himself before his death [c. 190 B.C.], possibly at the expense of Subhāgasena, of the former Mauryan possessions of Paroponisadae [Kabul Valley] and Arachosia [Kandahar] and other provinces which Seleukos I had ceded to Chandragupta.

The actual invasion of the Indian soil was left to his son and successor, Demetrios. Indian conquests included the Indus Valley and possibly some parts of the Punjab. He fixed his capital at Sāgala [Sialkot] *Euthydemia* after his father.² The city of *Dattāmitri* in Sauvīra mentioned in the *Siddhānta Kaumudi* probably owes its origin to Demetrios.³

¹ CHI, Vol. i., p. 511, cf. Tārānātha, *History of Buddhism*; trans. Schiefner, pp. 48 f.

² Ib. p. 446.

³ Transactions of the International Congress of the Orientalists, London, 1874, p. 345. In the *Sidh. Kaum.*, under Pān, IV.2.76, *Dattāmitri* is given as an instance of a Sauvīra town. R. G. Bhandarkar suggests the town to be *Demetria*.

A passage in the *Yuga Purāna*, one of the chapters of the *Gārgī-*

- *Sambitā* refers to the Yavanas who, after reducing Sāketa [in Oudh], the Pāñchāla, and Mathurā, reached Kusumadhvaja [Pāṭaliputra]. A passage in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* refers to the siege of Madhyamikā [Nāgasī, near Chittor] and Sāketa by the "Yavana" in Pushyamitra's time [*Supra* p. 159 f]. A passage in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram* also refers to a conflict, as we have seen [*Supra* p. 160f.] on the river Sindhu, in which a Yavana force was defeated in the reign of Pushyamitra Śunga by the king's grandson Vasumitra. In none of the above passages, the name of the Yavana invader is mentioned, but it is not difficult to see that the Yavana invaders, referred to, are the Bactrian Greeks. We have seen [*Supra* p. 70.] that Demetrios fulfilled the dreams of his father by actually invading the soil of India and making some conquests in the Indus Valley and in the Punjab where he built the town of *Euthydemia*, in the name of his father. It may be, he led on an invasion further down the country through Madhyamikā, Panchāla, Ajodhya, up to the gates of Pāṭaliputra which he evidently failed to take. This invasion referred to in the *Gārgī Sambitā* and in the *Patañjala*, probably could not have taken place much after Pushyamitra's accession in c. 184 B.C., when Demetrios was in his middle age, having married,¹ Antiochus III's daughter in 206 B.C. when he was at least a youth of 17 or 18 and Pushyamitra Śunga was, no doubt, in the prime of his life, having reigned for 36 years since that date. The conflict between the Yavana forces and Vasumitra, the grandson of Pushyamitra, who was evidently of sufficient age to be selected as commander of the force to guard the sacrificial horse, referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, must have occurred some considerable time after the Yavana invasion of Pāṭaliputra by Demetrios. By that time Pushyamitra was firmly seated on the throne, established his empire after defeating all oppositions and was in a position to celebrate his empire buildings by performing a horse-sacrifice. Naturally he came into conflict with the Yavanas whom his grandson defeated. This event is probably associated with his second and last horse-sacrifice which evidently took place

¹ CHI., Vol. i., p. 644

about the close of his reign which ended in c. 149 or 148 B.C. The leader of the Yavana forces referred to here cannot be Demetrios, who is supposed to have reigned from c. 190-160 B.C.,¹ but Menander who undoubtedly survived him and ruled, as we shall presently see, the Central and South-Eastern Punjab as a successor of the line of Euthydemos and Demetrios.² The Greek writers bear eloquent testimony to Menander's exploits in India and say that "these [Indian] conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios" [Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 100-1].

While Demetrios was busy with his Indian conquests, Bactria slipped out of his hands by a successful revolt of the people under the leadership of Eukratides, the general and brother-

in-law of Antiochus IV. [c. 175 B.C.]. All
Revolt of
Eukratides attempts of Demetrios to dislodge his rival from his position completely failed. But even in his Indian possessions, Demetrios was not left undisturbed. Eukratides pursued him into India and wrested from him or his successor Sind and West Punjab, and the princes of the house of Euthydemos had to rest content with the eastern districts of the Punjab. Thus were the Indian conquests of Demetrios divided between the two rival houses of Indo-Bactrian rulers.

THE HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMOS

Coins are our only source of information about the numerous Indo-Greek kings who succeeded the heads of the two rival houses of Euthydemos and Eukratides. We know very little about them except their names provided by the several hoards of coins discovered in Taxila and other places. Such Indo-Greek kings as Apollodotos, Antimachos, Pantaleon, Agathokles, the Stratos, Hippostratos and others belong, according to numismatists to the house of Euthydemos and Demetrios.

¹ Ib. p. 698.

² Cf. My article on the *Yavana Invasions*. J. G. R. S. IV. I.

Of these kings, Menander alone stands prominent as the only Indo-Greek king who has an abiding place in ancient Indian literature. He is unquestionably to be identified with Milinda, the Yavana king of Śākala [Sialkot], who figures in the *Milindapañha* as the royal personage putting subtle questions to the Buddhist Thera, Nāgasena, who ultimately satisfied his doubts and converted him to Buddhism. As a philosopher and debator, he was a worthy antagonist to the great Thera Nāgasena. He thus occupied the same eminent position in Buddhist literature as Janaka, king of Videha, did in the Upanishads. He held his court in Śākala, which is described in the *Milindapañha* as a "great centre of trade, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods."¹

The Greek writers describe Menander as a great conqueror. Strabo says that he conquered "more nations than Alexander." The credit of spreading Greek dominions farthest to the east into India is given by Strabo partly to Menander and partly to Demetrios. The great variety of types of his coins and the wide area of their distribution which extend from the Kabul Valley to Mathura undoubtedly indicates that he was the ruler of many kingdoms and that he was a great conqueror. It was most probably under his leadership the Yavanas penetrated as far as Central India where he was defeated by Prince Vasumitra on the river Sindhу as referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* [*Supra*]. According to Prof. Rapson "Menander and Eukratides were almost certainly contemporary," as some of their square copper coins, similar in style, show [CHI, Vol. 1, p. 551]. As such, Menander must have been one of the Bactrian princes ruling in India immediately after Demetrios who had lost to Eukratides Bactria and Kabul Valley and Menander must have recovered from the house of Eukratides some of the lost possessions of the home of Euthydemos [with which he was connected by marriage]² in the Kabul Valley where his coins have

¹ Trans. Rhys Davids, SBE., XXXV., p. 2.

² Rapson, CHI p. 552 n Tarn, GBI, p. 225.

been found. He must have also pursued the expansionist policy of his house towards the south-east. That he had as far east as Mathūrā in his dominion is also clear from numismatic evidence. And if Menander had his dominion as far as Mathurā, it is not impossible that he also tried to conquer some territories in Central India where the Śuṅgas were ruling. In that case, it is not improbable that the mention of the Yavanas in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to the troops of Menander whom Vasumitra defeated on the Sindhu. Menander was certainly alive when Pushyamitria was still on the throne, before the performance of the horse sacrifice [probably the second one] mentioned in the drama.

His court at Śākala was probably a centre of refuge of the Buddhist monks persecuted by Pushyamitria Śuṅga. A passage in *Divyāvadāna* states that Pushyamitria made a declaration setting a price of one hundred *dināras* on the head of every Buddhist monk at Śākala [*Yo me Śramanasiro dasyati tasyāham dinara satam dasyami*.]¹ We have no reason to believe that Pushyamitria ever held Śākala as Tāṇātha stated when Menander's sovereignty over Central and Southern Punjab as far down as Mathūrā was unquestionable. That Menander was a Buddhist and a zealous one, is a fact. The Shinkot Sīcātite Casket inscription² recording the placing of the remains of the Buddha's body in the reign of King Menander, confirms the literary evidence of his adherence to Buddhism. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that he should have given shelter to the persecuted Buddhist monks whose rancorous utterances against Pushyamitria must have unrifled his temper to the extent of making the above declaration against the monks residing at Śākala.

Tarn places the death of Menander about 150-45 B.C. [G.B.I., p. 226]. Plutarch informs us that after his death the cities of his realm contended for the honour of preserving his ashes and agreed on a division among themselves in order that memory of his reign should not be lost.³ This story, which is similar to the one connected with the Buddha's *Parinirvāna*, indicates the depth of

¹ *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 434.

² Ep. Ind. XX, IV, p. 7.

³ Plutarch: *Moralia*, 821 D,

affection with which his subjects held that Greek Buddhist ruler of India.

About the successors of Menander, we know very little except their coin names. Menander's son and successor Strato I, was minor when his father died and ruled jointly with his mother, Agathokleia, during his minority. Prof. Rapson has shown that Agathokleia was undoubtedly the mother of Strato I Sotei [C.H.I, I, p. 552] and that she issued coins in association with her son. This can only be explained by the fact that she acted as Crown Regent during her son's minority. Prof. Rapson further points that Strato I issued coins, ruling at first alone and afterwards in association with his grandson, Strato II Philopator [Ib.], who evidently succeeded him. The debased art of Strato I's latest coins and of those in which he is associated with his grandson, seems to show that the house of Euthydemos had fallen on evil days. By the middle of the first century B.C., the kingdoms, held in the eastern Punjab by the last successors of Euthydemos, passed to the hands of the Śakas. Rapson points that the coins of Hippostratus were restriuck by Azes I and that the familiar coin type of the house of Euthydemos, the figure of the Goddess Athena, has been used by Rañjubula, the Śaka Satrap of Mathurā, who only removed the Greek names from the restriuck coins.

THE HOUSE OF EUKRATIDES

We have seen [*Supra*, p. 198] that Eukratides deposed Demetrios from the throne of Bactria, invaded the countries to the south of the Hindukush and wrested from his rival his dominions in the Kabul Valley, in Ariana and in N.W. India and confined the house of Euthydemos to the South and Eastern Punjab. But while he was returning in triumph from his Indian expedition, he was slain by his son, c. 155 B.C.¹

The son, who murdered Eukratides and succeeded him both in Bactria and India, was Heliocles. He was the last Yavana king of Bactria, for, after him, the Śakas from the steppes of Central Asia overwhelmed Bactria.

¹ CHT, i, p. 554. Tarn [GBI p. 222] however disbelieves the story as given in Justin [XLI, 6.5] explains it otherwise.

We know nothing more about the successors of Heliocles than mere names provided by their numerous coinages. Among those only the name of Antialkidas has been found on an Indian monument. The inscription is on the Garuda Pillar at Besnagar, near Bhilsa in Gwalior state, and it records that the column was erected in honour of Vāsudeva by the Yavana ambassador Heliodorus, son of Dion, an inhabitant of Takshashilā who had come from the Greek King Antialkidas [*Maharajasa Āntilakitasā*] to king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, then in the fourteenth year of his reign.¹ Heliodorus is described in the inscription Bhāgavata or a follower of Vishnu. It shows that he was another among the Greeks who had adopted Indian faith. The inscription also testifies to the existence of friendly and diplomatic relations between the Yavana king of Takshashilā and the Śunga king of Vidisā [Besnagar].

The house of Eukratides was ultimately reduced to the possession of the region which represented its earliest conquest to the south of the Hindu Kush. In the city of Kapiśa, Hermæus on the most northern extremity of the region, ruled Hermæus who was the last Greek ruler of the frontier regions and the Kabul Valley. The new power, which destroyed the remnants of the Greek power in that region, was the Kushāna chief, Kujūla Kadphises.

The occupation of the north-western parts of India by the Greek invaders from Bactria lasted a longer period, a century and a half, than what resulted from Alexander's invasion and conquests which had ended, as we saw, within two years of the great conqueror's death. Yet the political effect of the second occupation is equally small. Culturally, however, some traces of the Greek contact are discernible. First, in the matter of coinage: The ancient punch-marked coins of India were replaced by the Greek rulers by the improved forms of properly shaped and stamped coins which served as models for the later Indian

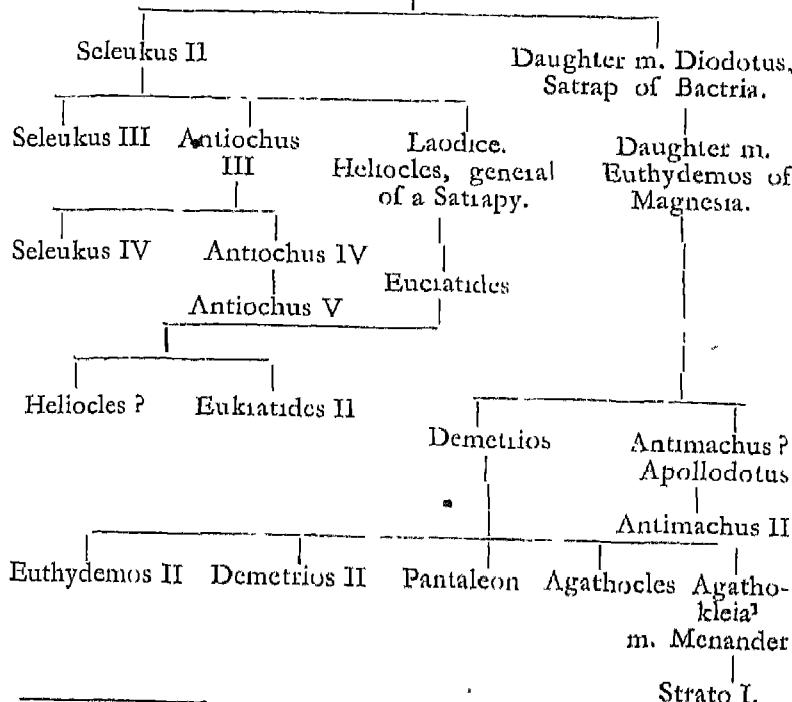
¹ S.I., pp. 90—91, Lüders, List, No. 669.

coinages. The Bactrian Greeks used legends in their coins, and some of them used even two scripts—Greek and Kharoshthi in the coin inscriptions. The punch-marked coins of India were without any inscriptions—a defect later removed on the model of the Greek coins.

Besides this specific cultural effect, the contact of the two highly developed civilisations opened the gates for mutual exchange of ideas—in philosophy, astronomy, and astrology in particular. The *Gārgī Sāṃhitā* gives high praise to the Yavanas for their science of astronomy. The conversion of Menander to Buddhism and Heliodorus to Vaishnavism, on the other hand, are conspicuous examples of the influence which the Indian faiths and culture had made on the Greeks.

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF EUTHYDEMO'S AND EUKRATIDES.

Antiochus II, the Seleukid King of Syria



¹ See Tarn, *op. cit.*

SIC. B

THE ŚAKAS

The Scythian [Śaka], the Parthian [Pahlava] and the Bactrian Greek [Yavana] invaders of India have been often mentioned in Sanskrit literature in association with one another under the group name of *Saka Yavana Pahlava* as foreigners and barbarians. For the early history of the Śaka migration, however, which ultimately resulted in conquests of and settlements in some parts of India, we have to depend on the Chinese annals. The Śakas were a people who occupied the lands to the north of the Xanxites [Siū Dariyā]. Another people, known to the Chinese historians as the Yueh-chi who lived in the country near the Great Chinese Wall were pushed by the Huns to move westward. This brought them into conflict with the Śakas in their original homeland and compelled the latter to move westward towards Bactria and Parthia. The Greeks in Bactria, who had already been weakened by interneceing quarrels, were overwhelmed by the Śaka invaders. They pressed further to the south-west and made settlements in Ariana [West and South Afghanistan] and eastern Irān after defeating the two kings of Parthia, Phraetes II [138-128 B.C.] and Artabanus [c. 128-123 B.C.]. The next king of Parthia, Mithradates II [123-88 B.C.] was a great and powerful king who compelled the Śakas to move down to the south-west and settle in the lower Helmand Valley which has since been known as Śakasthāna¹ or land of the Śakas. Sometime later they passed from Śakasthāna [Seistān] through the Bolan Pass over the Brāhui mountains into the country of the lower Indus which the Indian writers call Śakadvīpa and the Greek Geographers Indo-Scythia [See Map. 2]. From this convenient position serving as a jumping off ground, the Śakas established their settlements in many parts of India about the middle of the first century B.C.

¹ Sakasthana, [cf. Mathura Lion capital inscription, the Persian province of Drangiāna, Persian Sijistān and modern Seistan.]

The earliest Saka ruler known to us from coins and inscriptions is Maues. He imitated the coin types of Demetrios and Strato I. His bi-lingual coins bear on the obverse the legend in Greek, "Of Maues, the Great King of Kings," and on the reverse "Rajatrayasa Mahatara Alaga" in Kharoshthī characters. He is probably to be identified with Moa of the Mana [Salt Range] inscription [C.I.I., II, VIII] and with Moga of the Taxila Plate [Ep. Ind. IV p. 55 f.]. The provenance of these inscriptions gives a rough estimate of his dominions which were confined to the north-western Punjab. The south-eastern portion of the province was still under the Yavana rule of a prince of the house of Euthydemos. The Taxila Copper Plate states him to be a Mahārāja. This and his coin legends show that he was a great and independent sovereign. The Taxila Plate mentions the year 78 of an unspecified era as a regnal date of Moga. But as the era to which the year 78 belongs is not clear, the date of Moga-Maues is still uncertain. If it is assigned to the Vikrama era, the year 78 is equivalent to A.D., a date which is irreconcilable with the chronology of Gondoperines whose reign period, according to the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is 19-45 A.D. and who came after Azes II, the third Saka king after Maues. If it is taken as an old Saka era, the year becomes 72 B.C.¹ and it becomes difficult to accept the contemporaneity of Patika with both Maues and the ākshtrapa Śodasa in 14 A.D.

According to numismatists Maues was followed by Azes I who re-struck the coins of Hippostratus. This shows that he conquered the Eastern Punjab hitherto ruled by a scion of His Successors the house of Euthydemos. His coins further show that Azes had as his subordinate colleague Azilises whose name also appears in Kharoshthī on the reverse of Azes I's coins, while his own name appears on the obverse in Greek. Again, on other coins the same two names appear, but with a

¹ Prof. Rapson thinks that the era is probably of Parthian origin beginning from c. 150 B.C. when Mithradates I incorporated Seistan [Sakasthāna] into the Parthian empire. Therefore the year 78 is equivalent to [150—78] 72 B.C. C.I.I., Vol., I, p. 570.

change of position—the first and most important position, Azilises being found on the obverse with a Greek legend, and Azes on the reverse with a Kharoshthi legend.¹ This shows that Azilises who was a junior colleague with Azes I became king after the latter's death and was associated with, as his junior colleague Azes II who succeeded him. Dr. V. Smith who postulates this view of succession, assigns to Azes II the coins which have been found generally nearer the surface than those of Azes I [JRAS, 1914, p. 979]. Marshall accepts this view. Azes II had at least a viceroy, Strategos Aspavarmān, as Moga had two—Patika and Liaka. The coins of Aspavarmān show the extinction of the Śaka rule by the great Parthian king Gondophērās.

THE ŚAKA SATRAPAL HOUSES

The Indian governors of the Śaka kings were called Kṣhtīapas. The term is perhaps borrowed from the old Persian title of *Kshatrapāvan* [a Provincial Governor], and indicates the former Śaka-Parthian relation. On account of the similarity of their names and their systems of Satrapal government, the two peoples, Śakas and Pahlavas, have been associated in Indian literatures and inscriptions either as one or as similar ethnic groups. Intermarriages between the two peoples resulted in some of the family names being common to both. In fact, Dr. V. Smith regarded Maues as a Parthian king [E.H.I., 4th Ed. p. 242]. Prof. Rapson, therefore, rightly remarks that to label Maues and his successors as Śakas is little more than a convenient nomenclature [C.H.I., I, p. 568]. But there is no doubt that the Śakas were a different people from the Parthians, although some of their family names and their Satrapal system of government have a Parthian origin. The Satrapal system has another peculiarity. There were always two Satraps in each province—a senior Satrap [Mahākshatrapa] and a junior one [Kshatrapa], usually a son and heir of the former. The relation between the two was something like that between

¹ [B.M. Cat. p. 92; Pl. XX.3].

the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations of the same viceroyalty.¹ There were several such Śaka Satrapal houses in different parts of India and may be conveniently grouped under two main heads:

- [I] *The Northern Satraps of Taxila and Mathura*
- [II] *The Western Satraps of Mathurā and Ujjain*

i. THE SATRAPS OF TAXILA

The earliest known recorded Śaka Kshatrapa is *Liaka*.² The Taxila Plate records that he was a Satrap of Chukhsa. Chukhsa has not yet been identified. It is, however, has been identified with modern Chach, N. W. of Taxila [Ep. Ind., p. 120 n.]. The two districts were presumably located in the neighbourhood of Taxila. His titles imitated from those of Eukratides. The Taxila Copper Plate [Ep. Ind., IV, p. 55f.] describes Liaka Kusulaka as a Kshatrapa. It records that his son Patika, who bears no title, made a gift of the relics of the Buddha which is commemorated by the inscription. It is not clear whether Patika acted as his father's successor as a joint Kshatrapa, for he bore no title at that time, and his father Liaka was called a Mahākshatrapa. But that Liaka succeeded his father first as a Kshatrapa and then as a joint Kshatrapa is clear from the Mathura Inscription inscription of the time of Rañjuvula and Śekhara [Ep. Ind., IX, p. 141 ff]. No coins have, however, been discovered bearing either Liaka or the Mahākshatrapa Patika.

2. SATRAPS OF MATHURA

A number of coins and inscriptions throw light on the history of the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā. The earliest Satraps of Mathurā were Hagāmasha and Hagāna known from their coins. Some coins show that Hagāmasha ruled alone, others that Hagāna ruled conjointly with Hagāmasha. According to

¹ He, however, bears an appellation of Mahādhanavīra, which means what it means.

Dr. V. Smith¹ Rājula [Rañjuvula], succeeded them. Rañjuvula is known both from coins and inscriptions. His coins found in the eastern Punjab and Mathurā describe him as 'Aśpratibhūta chakra Kshatrapa. In others, he is described as a 'Mahākshatrapa.'² The Moīā [near Mathurā] Inscription also calls him a Mahākshatrapa. This shows that he ruled first as a Kshatrapa and afterwards as Mahākshatrapa. That he ruled as an independent or semi-independent power can be presumed from his titles and coinages. He was associated with his son Śodāsa [Sudāsa] as a Kshatrapa, who afterwards succeeded him as a Mahākshatrapa. The 'Mathura Lion Capital Inscription [Ep. Ind., IX, p. 141 ff.] calls Śodāsa, a 'crown-Prince' [Yuvarāja] in one place, and a Kshatrapa and the son of the Mahākshatrapa Rājula [Rañjuvula] in another. The Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Śodāsa describes him as a Mahākshatrapa. This inscription is dated in the year 72 of an unspecified era which has been accepted by most scholars as the Vikrama era.³ Consequently the fact that Śodāsa was a Mahākshatrapa in 14 A.D. shows that his father Rañjuvula must have died on or before that date. Patika who issued the 'Taxila Plate Inscription does not indicate his official position if he had any, but calls himself the son of the Kshatrapa Liaka. But in the Lion-Pillar Capital Inscriptions, Patika has been called the son of Kusulaka, a Mahākshatrapa of Taxila, when Rañjuvula was the Mahākshatrapa of Mathurā, and his son, Śodāsa, was a Yuvarāja and a Kshatrapa.

3. THE KSHAHARATA ŚAKA-SATRAPS OF MAHARASHTRA.

The Kshaharata Śaka Satraps of Mahārāshtra, and the Great Satraps [Mahākshatrapas] of Ujjain are the two Śaka Settlements of Western India. The earliest known member of the Kshaharata family is Bhūmaka. Numerous coins of Bhūmaka have been

¹ EHI, 3rd ed. p. 227.

² B. M. Cat of coins, p. 67.

³ For the reading of the date and the specification of the era see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f.; XI, p. 260f.; Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 139-141.

found. By examining them and those of Nahapāna, the most well-known Kshaharāta ruler, Prof. Rapson concludes that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna. He says that the obverse type of Bhūmaka's coins has been used by Nahapāna as the reverse type. This arrangement of the type, the fabric and the nature of the coin legends leave no room, according to Rapson, for doubting that Nahapāna was the immediate successor of Bhūmaka.¹ There is, however, no evidence of their relationship nor any date found on their coins.

Nahapāna is known both from coins and inscriptions. He appears to be the first Kshaharāta Kshatrapa to conquer Mahārāshtra from the early Andhra rulers of Nahapāna that country. The provenance of the coins of Bhūmaka shows that his rule was confined to Broach, Kathiawār, Ajmer and Pushkara. In none of the inscriptions of Pāndulena [Nāsik] the name Bhūmaka is found. Nahapāna's silver coins have been found in plenty in Mahārāshtra and his name and that of his son-in-law Ushavadāta [Rishabhadatta] in several Cave inscriptions in Nāsik. It is, therefore, clear that Nahapāna is the first Kshaharāta to extend the Śaka rule in Mahārāshtra. The Nāsik Cave Inscription of Nahapāna dated years 41, 42, 45 [Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 82 ff] gives us an indication of the date of Nahapāna's rule in Mahārāshtra. The years have been accepted by most scholars to belong to the Śaka era which begins from 78 A.D.² So, the earliest recorded date of Nahapāna's rule in Mahārāshtra is 119 A.D. The latest recorded date of Nahapāna is the year 46 as found also in the Junāi Cave Inscription of his time [Aīch, Suīv. W. In IV, p. 103]. Therefore, his rule possibly ended in 124 A.D. The abrupt ending of his rule after such a short period of six years may be explained by the fact that Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, a scion of the Andhra ruling dynasty now residing further south, was powerful enough to recover the lost glory of his house and drove the Kshaharātas from his homeland [*Supra*, p. 175].

¹ Catalogue of Andhra Coins, p. 87.

² S. I. n. 1, p. 167; PHAI, 3rd. ed. pp. 331-335.

Nahapāna's rule in Mahārāshṭra, though short in years, was full of events, as the epigraphic records of his time prove. It was full of wars, expeditions and charitable benefactions. In these his son-in-law Ushavadāta was closely associated with him as his right-hand man. Ushavadāta was the son of the Śaka Dinika and the husband of Nahapāna's daughter Dakshamitrā. The provenance of Nahapāna's inscriptions and their records tell that he not only ruled almost the whole of Mahārāshṭra which he conquered from the Sātavāhanas, but his rule extended from Mahārāshṭra to Kāthiawār, Broach, Sopārā [Bombay], Daśapura [Western Mālwā] and Ajmer including Pushkara [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 78 f]. Nahapāna's coins have been found in Ajmer and Pushkara. The Nāsik Inscription records that at the order of his master, Nahapāna Ushavadāta rescued the Uttamabhadras from the attack of the Mālwās, and then proceeded to Pushkara *Tīrtha* where he bathed and made large gifts of cows and gold to Brāhmans [Ib.] Several other *tīrthas* have been mentioned in the same epigraph and in the Carle Cave Inscription [Ep. Ind. VII, p. 57 f.] such as Prabhāsa, Bhṛigukachchha, Sūtparārka, Daśapura, Gandhāra, which Ushavadāta visited and where he fed thousands of Brāhmans and gave them large gifts in gold and thousands of cows. His wife Dakshamitrā is also recorded to have made a gift of a cave dwelling to acquire religious merit [Ep. Ind. VII, p. 81]. All this go to prove that Ushavadāta and his wife became completely Hinduised.

A large number of silver coins of Nahapāna found in the Jogal-thambi hoard [near Nāsik] show that they were restriuck by Gautamiputra. None of the coins found there bears the name of Ushavadāta. This shows that Gautamiputra defeated Nahapāna himself, or immediately after his death Ushavadāta, who consequently had no chance to succeed his father-in-law as the ruler of Mahārāshṭra. Ushavadāta, however, filled a large space in the government of Nahapāna. He was undoubtedly the latter's commander-in-chief excelling in many military exploits. He performed on behalf of the government many acts of public utility and charity, such as freeing the people from ferry tolls, constructing ghats for ferry-boats, constructing cave dwellings for Buddhist monks and distributing large charities to Brāhmans and Buddhists alike,

4 THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF UJJAIN

[THE HOUSE OF CHASHTANA]

The earliest member of this house was Yaśamatika, whose son *Chashtana* is known as the first Śaka ruler of Ujjain. According to Prof. Dubieuil [Arch. Hist. Dec., p. 36] Chashtana started his rule in 78 A.D. and founded the Śaka era. But this is doubtful in view of the fact that the earliest known date of Chashtana is the year 52 which is accepted by all scholars as belonging to the Śaka era and therefore equivalent to 130 A.D. It is unthinkable that he should have been great enough to found an era and we should have no records of his activity for 52 years. Dr. Raychaudhuri cites the opinion of Profs. Rapson and Bhandarkar that he was a viceroy of some northern power—probably of the Kshatrapa. The beginning of the Śaka era is associated, according to most scholars, with the accession of Kanishka to the Kushāṇa throne in 78 A.D.

From the Andau [Cutch] Inscription of the time of Chashtana and Rudradāman [S.E. 52] we gather that in A.D. 130 Chashtana was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradāman. Rudradāman's father is Jayadāman without any title in this epigraph. This shows that Jayadāman must have been dead in the year 130 A.D. when his father Chashtana was alive, and his son Rudradāman was appointed heir-apparent and joint ruler as a Kshartapa, according to the Śaka custom, by his grandfather Chashtana who had probably assumed at that stage the position of a Mahākshatrapa.

Rudradāman, the grandson and successor of Chashtana, was the most outstanding Śaka Satrap of Ujjain. His Junāgad Rock

Inscription [Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 42 ff.] gives Wais and Conquest details of his life and work. The inscription is dated 72 [S.E.] which enables us to fix his reign period around 150 A.D. The epigraph states that he won for himself the title of Mahākshatrapa [*Svayama-dbigata-Mahākshatrapa-nāmā*.] This shows that the fortunes

¹ PHAI, 3rd. ed., p 344.

of his house had undergone a temporary set back which he afterwards recovered to enable him to assume the title Mahākshatrapa. A subsequent passage [I., 12] refers to his war with Śātakarni, the Lord of the South, whom he twice defeated and then won as his son-in-law. The Śātakarni of the inscription is the Sātavāhana king, Vāsishthiputra Puṇmāvi. It is probable that the power of the Śakas of Ujjain was shaken at the close of Chashṭana's reign or after his death by the growing of the Sātavāhanas under the leadership of Gautamiputra Śātakarni, and his son Śri Puṇmāvi, and that Rudradāman had to fight hard with the Sātavāhanas whom he ultimately defeated and recovered the sovereignty of his house. The same line also refers to his fight with the proud and valiant Yaudheyas whom he defeated. The Yaudheyas are referred to in the Pāṇini as a people belonging to the armed profession [āyudhajivi]. They were a republican people living in the Eastern Punjab where a large number of coins and inscriptions bearing their tribal names have been found. A number of clay seals and votive tablets of the Yaudheyas have been found in the Ludhiana district [Proc. A.S.B., 1884, pp. 138-40]. These are assigned to the third century A.D. Samudragupta refers to them as one of the tribes whom he conquered. Thus it is clear that they continued to live as an independent republican tribe up to the fourth century A.D. That they were a republican and a war-like people is proved by their coin-legends. A type of their coins bears the legend, 'Yaudheya gaṇa sthiti.' In another type there is the representation of the god Kārtikeya, the presiding deity of war and liberty.¹ Rudradāman calls them a brave race [vīra-śabda yāti]. This praise coming from an enemy lends weight to the claim to greatness by the Yaudheyas themselves.

The extent of Rudradāman's territory is clearly indicated in the epigraph. It included Ākara Extent of Territory [East Malwā, cap. Vidisā], Avanū [West Malwā, cap. Ujjain],—Anūpa, cap. Māhishmatī [Mod. Māndhātā? Nimai district], Ānaria [North Kāthiawār];

¹ Smith. C.C.I.M. Vol. I pp. 181-82.

Surāshṭra [South Kāthiawār]; Svabhra [the region on the Sābar-mati]; Maru [a region in the Rājputānā Desert, probably Mārwār]; Kaccha [Cutch]; Sindhu [that portion of modern Sind which lay west of the Lower Indus]; Sauvīra [east of the Lower Indus]; Kukūra [in the North Kāthiawār near Ānarta], Apārānta [North Konkan, Cap. Surpāraka]; Nishāda [W. Vindhya and Aravelly]. We have seen [*Suprā*] that Surāshṭra, Kukūra and Apārānta were parts of Gautamiputra's dominions. It is clear that those places were conquered by Rudradāman either from Gautamiputra or his son Śrī Pulumāvi.

The famous Sudarśana lake which existed in his province of Surāshṭra and had been serving the purpose of irrigation since the time of Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka burst its banks.

Repair of the
Sudarśana Lake: Rudradāman had a new dam constructed through his Pahlava Governor Suviśākha who was in charge of the provinces of Ānarta and Suiāshtra. a work of great public utility

The banks had burst twice before in the time of Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka, both of whom repaired them through their governors of Surāshṭra. Rudradāman bore the expenses of the construction out of his own privy-purse [*Svasmātkosāt*] because the council of ministers thinking the task impossible refused to sanction the money from the public treasury [*Vimukha-matibhiḥ pṛātyakhyātārambhain*]. This throws an interesting light on the constitutional position of the King *vis-a-vis* his ministers and the revenues of the State. It appears that Rudradāman behaved like a strictly constitutional ruler. The democratic spirit of the Mahākshatrapa is further proved when he is described in the epigraph that he was 'chosen as protector' [*pātīye vritab*] by all castes [*Sarvavarṇaiḥ*].

The Junāgad Inscription throws light on some of the personal qualities of the great Kshatrapa. We have seen above his kind solicitation for his subjects, so much so, that he bore the entire expenses of the construction of the damaged

Personal Qualities and the Character of Administration

dam of the Sudarśana lake out of his own treasury when his council of ministers refused the grant. The dam, if left unrepairs, would seriously affect the agriculture of the entire province.

He would not even impose on his subjects a special tax [*Kara*], forced labour [*Vishya*], benevolences [*Pranaya*] for the purpose. He carried on his government with the advice and consent of the council of ministers [*Sahivaiḥ*] possessed of requisite qualifications [*Amātya-guṇa-samudgūktarīḥ*]. Before assuming regnal authority, he had undergone the necessary training in education and became learned in grammar [*Sabda*], polity, including finance [*Artha*], music [*Gandharva vidyā*], logic [*Nyāya*], etc. A true test of his character and the civilised nature of his government is provided by another passage of the epigraph which states that he took a vow and kept to the end of his life that he would not kill men except in battle [*Samgrāmēshu anyatra* Ib.]. He had two classes of ministers—Matisachivas [Councillors] and Karma-Sachivas [Executive officers]. The financial grant for the repair of the Sudarśana was refused by the Matisachivas whose advice he felt bound to accept [Ib.].

RUDRADĀMAN'S SUCCESSORS

The successors of Rudradāman are mere nonentities. A large number of coins bearing their names and a few inscriptions of their time have been found. None of the latter, however, records any great achievement to their credit, except providing a genealogy. We state below the names of some of them found both on coins and inscriptions. The son and successor of Rudradāman was Dāmajada or Damajadaśāri. Damjada had a son Jivadāman whose name appears on his silver coins bearing the date 198 A.D. But the immediate successor of Dāmajada was his brother Rudrasimha I. The Gundā [Kaṭhiawār] Stone Inscription of his time [Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 235] recording the gift of a tank by his Ābhīra General Rudrabhūti, son of General Bāpaka, is dated in 181 A.D. This shows that Rudrasimha reigned before Jivadāman and confirms Prof. Rapson's view that after Dāmajada's death there was a civil war between the uncle

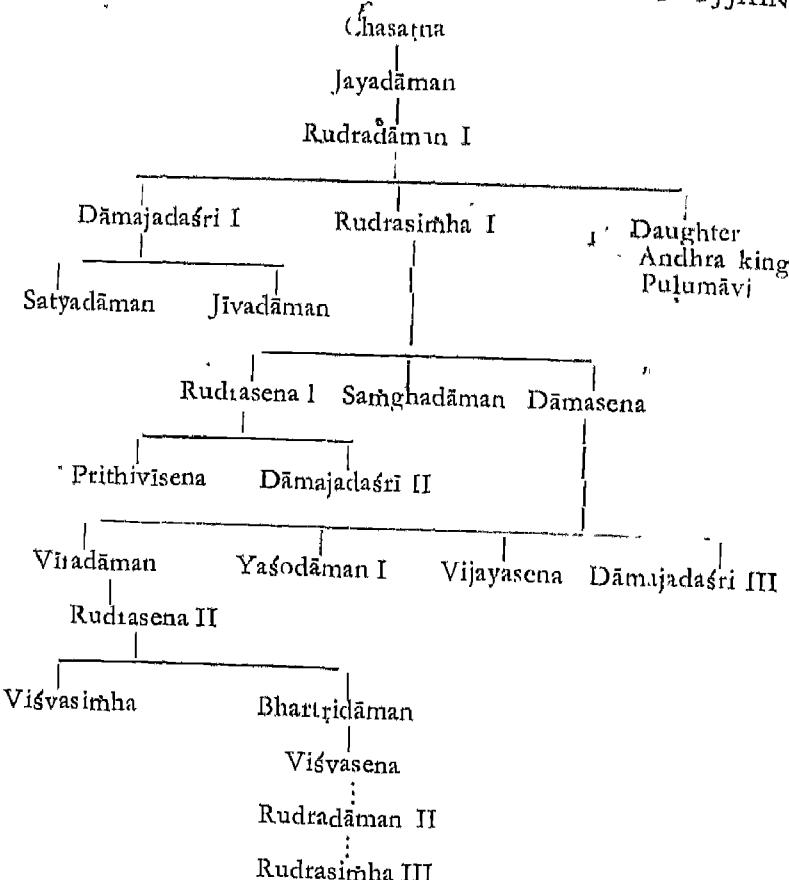
and the nephew in which the former came out victorious.¹ Dr. Raychaudhuri [PHAI, 3rd, ed p. 347] states that Rudrasimha was followed by his son Rudrasena I. But it appears certain that Jivadāman reigned after Rudrasimha, before the accession of Rudrasena I, the son of Rudrasimha. The silver coins of Jivadāman bear the date of 198 A.D. and the legends in them state they were issued by the Mahākshatrapa Jivadāman, the son of the Mahākshatrapa Dāmajada [Rapson, Catalogue, p. 83 ff; No. 291], while the earliest recorded date of Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha is 205 A.D. as found in the Gaithā [Kāthiawār] Stone Inscription [Ep. Ind. XVI p. 238]. Rapson states that "with the reign of Jivadāman, son of Dāmajadaśī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jivadāman there are also dated coins of potin." [Loc. cit., p. CXIV]. Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasimha I, was the third Śaka Satrap of Ujjain after Rudradāman. This reign period is, as we have seen, A.D. 205. The names of his successors found on coins may be passed over as of little importance until we come to the last Śaka Satrap of Ujjain—*Rudra Simha III* who is perhaps to be identified with the Śaka ruler described in the *Harshacharita* as a man addicted to women and killed by Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. That Rudrasimha reigned at least up to 388 A.D. is clear from a date found on his silver coins.² The rule of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain thus lasted for nearly 250 years.

(On the basis of coins and inscriptions a genealogy of the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain may be drawn. It is clear as far as Bhartridāman-Viśvasena. It is not definite that Viśvasena ever became a Mahākshatrapa, nor is the relation of Viśvasena with his predecessors or successors clear. The last known ruler of the dynasty is Rudrasimha III).

¹ Rapson, Cat. Coins of Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.

² Rapson, Catalogue, p. 194 f., no. 907.

A GENEALOGY OF THE ŚAKA SATRAPS OF UJJAIN



[SEC. C]

THE PAHLAVAS [THE INDO-PARTHIANS]

The earliest known Indo-Parthian prince is Vonones. His coins show that he was reigning as suzerain over the kingdom of Eastern Irān with the title 'Great King of Kings,' and that he was associated with his brothers Spaliises and Spalahores and his nephew, Spalagadames, who perhaps acted as his viceroy in the conquered regions. Vonones was succeeded by Spaliises who also bore the title of Great King of Kings.

The great and the most well-known Indo-Parthian king is Gondopharnes. In the dated Takht-i-Bâhi Inscription of his time [Ep. Ind. XVIII, p. 282] we get a clue to his dates and the region he ruled in India. Takht-i-Bâhi is within Peshawar district and the date given is the year 103 of an unspecified era. Dr. Fleet definitely holds that the year belongs to the Mâlava-Vikrama-era, and as such the record was made in 45 A.D. and since it was made in the '26th year' of his reign, Gondopharnes reigned at least from 19 to 45 A.D. Dr. V. Smith [E.H.I., 4th Ed., pp. 245-250], refers to a Christian legend in which Gondopharnes is stated to be the 'King of India,' whose court the Apostle St. Thomas visited and met with success in his missionary labours. The Christian tradition which makes Gondopharnes a contemporary of St. Thomas fits in with the date given in the Takht-i-Bâhi record.

After the death of the great Pahlava Sovereign, his empire was broken up. Names of some members of the family are found on coins found in Taxila by Prof. Rapson. They indicate that *Sanabares* probably ruled Seistan and *Pakores* western Punjab. The family was finally supplanted by the Kushânas.

[SEC. D.]

THE KUSHÂNAS C. 100-300 A.D.

A vast nomadic horde, the Yueh-chi, drove another nomadic tribe, the Sakas from their homeland lying to the north of the Jaxertes about 150 B.C. Shortly after the Yueh-chi were in turn driven from their newly occupied lands by their old enemy, a tribe of the Turki nomads of the Central Asian Steppes, moved southwards, crossed the Oxus, and occupied Bactria from the Sakas who had conquered the country from the Greeks as already stated after their first drive by the Yueh-chi. For about two generations, the Yueh-chi remained in Bactria and lost their nomadic habits and became a settled and territorial people. The pressure of population upon the resources of the little kingdom of Bactria compelled the Yueh-chi to expand further south across the barriers of the

Hindu Kush and settle in the regions stretching from the Oxus to the Helmand and the Indus. Here they came into conflict with the Parthians, the Śakas and the remnant of the Bactrian-Greek principalities and overwhelmed them.

The Yueh-chis were divided into five separate sections, each forming an independent principality under a chief. The Kushānas were one of these sections and were ruled by *Kujūla Kadphises*.

He proved himself very powerful and succeeded in uniting the different sections under one rule and thus founded an empire which virtually extended from the Oxus to the

Kadphises I. Indus, comprising Bactria, the whole of modern

Afghanistan, the eastern fringe of Persia and the outlying portions of the North-Western Frontier Province of India. From numismatic evidences, we gather that he overpowered the last Indo-Greek King Haimaios who was ruling in the region of Kabul Valley and then pushed his rule as far as Taxila.

Kujūla Kadphises was succeeded by his son *Vima Kadphises*. He largely added on to his father's empire. From Taxila he spread his power, over a good portion of Northern India.

Kadphises II. The Śaka Satraps of Western India and Mālwā temporarily submitted to the Kushāna rule and acknowledged its supremacy which they later threw over during the weak rule of Kanishka's successors. Kadphises ruled his Indian provinces by means of military governors. The Chinese annals record that the Chinese General Pañ-cha'o won a series of victories over Kadphises and compelled him to pay tributes to the Chinese Emperor. His relations with the Roman Empire in the west were evidently cordial as can be inferred from the exchange of greetings and goodwill between him and the Roman Governor of Mesopotamia. The lack of records of any conflict with the Roman Empire which was conterminous with his own also confirms this friendly relation. One important effect of the conquest of the Kadphises kings was that commerce between China, the Roman Empire and India immensely improved. India sold large quantities of silk, spice and grain for which she received payment in bullion. Large quantities of Roman gold

poured into the country which Kadphises utilised for issuing the first Kushāna gold coins. An important fact relating to the date of Vima Kadphises' rule in India is provided by the Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 and the Panjtar Stone inscription of the year 122. Both the inscriptions are of an unspecified era and belong to the reign of a 'Kushāna king.' The Kushāna has been identified with Vima Kadphises, the second Kushāna ruler and the era has been accepted by most scholars to be Vikramāera, commencing from 58 B.C. whatever its origin. In that case, the period of Vima Kadphise's rule in India may be placed between 64 A.D. as its upper limit, and 78 A.D. as its lower limit if the year 78 A.D. is taken as the year I of the Śaka era which Kanishka I is generally accepted to be the founder.

KANISHKA [C. 78-123 A.D.]

Kadphises II was succeeded by Kanishka whose relationship with the former is not definitely known. Some scholars are of the opinion that Kanishka did not directly succeed Kadphises II,

^{Kanishka's date¹} but that a nameless ruler commonly known as Sotei Megas may have been a successor of Kadphises II. Sir John Marshall held the above view on the discovery of a coin at Taxila bearing that name which, he considers, belongs to the first century A.D. and is, therefore, earlier than those belonging to Kanishka who, according to him and many other scholars, began his reign in the second century A.D. Thus according to Sir John Marshall the date of Kanishka's accession is 125 A.D. [A Guide to Taxila, p. 22]; other dates suggested are from 58 B.C. [Fleet] to 278 A.D. [D. R. Bhandarkar]. Another school of thought which included Professor Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri holds that Kanishka started his reign in 78 A.D.

¹ JRAS, 1913, 1914; Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. No. 1 pp. 49-80.

which is the beginning of Śaka era founded by him. The latter date seems to be more probable for this particular reason among others that if Kanishka started his reign in the second century A.D., then the independent sovereignty of Rudradāman who reigned from A.D. 130-150 cannot be explained. The independent sovereignty of Rudradāman which extended over the whole of Western India including the Lower Indus Valley cannot be reconciled with the extent of Kanishka's empire in India except on the ground that the western Satraps reasserted their independence *after* the death of Kanishka and during the weak days of his successor, which they had temporarily lost to the rising power of the Kushānas under Kanishka I.¹

Kanishka greatly extended the empire he had inherited from his predecessor. In India, his conquest included Kashmir and

Upper Sind in the north and north-west and was
His Wars and
Conquest extended as far east as Pāṭaliputra. Tradition

has it that after his conquest of Pāṭaliputra he took with him the famous Buddhist scholar Aśvaghosha who later acted as Vice-President of the Buddhist Council convened by the Emperor. He carried on a successful warfare against the Parthians. About the close of the first century A.D. the Chinese General Pañ-Cha'o steadily advanced to the west, brought to submission the Trans-Pāmīr regions of Kāshgai, Yarkand and Khotān and threatened the eastern frontier of the Kushāna empire which was confined by the Oxus. About 90 A.D. Kanishka challenged the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor and asserted his equality with him by demanding a Chinese princess in marriage. General Pañ-Cha'o who considered the proposal as an affront to his master, arrested the envoy and sent him home. At this, Kanishka sent a formidable army of 70,000 cavalry under his General Si to attack the Chinese across the Pāmīrs. Kanishka's forces were totally defeated and he was compelled to pay tribute

¹ For further light on the question read Acta Orientalia III, 54 ff; R.H.Q. V. no. 1, March 1929; JBORS XV. pts. I and II March-June 1929; Fleet, Corpus III preface 56; JRAS 1913 pp. 635-650, 98 ff; Sten Konow Corpus II.

to China. But at a later date, after the death of Pañcha'o and after his own conquest of Kashmīr, he personally led a second army through the Pāmū Passes which ended in a decisive victory for Kanishka as a result of which he not only freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China but also annexed Kashgāi, Yarkand and Khotan to his empire.¹

As a result of these conquests, Kanishka's empire in India extended from Kashmīr in the north and the Upper and Lower Indus Valleys in the west to the Vindhya range and Bihar in the

south. Beyond India, it comprised three distinct
Extent of his Empire regions : the newly conquered districts in the

Trans-Pāmir region ; the Oxus Valley region [Bactriā] and the stretch of land between the Hindukush and the Indus comprising Herāt, the Kābul and Helmand Valley regions, now covered by Kābul, Ghazni and Kandahar provinces of Afghānistān and Seistān and Baluchistān.

The capital of this vast empire was located at Purushapura [Peshāwar] which he adorned with many noble edifices, public buildings and Buddhist monasteries. One of the most magnificent

His capital of these monasteries was used as a place of Bud-

dhist shrine as late as the ninth century when it was visited by the eminent Buddhist scholar Viśadēva who afterwards was appointed abbot of Nālandā in the region of King Devapāla of Magadha [c. A.D. 845-92].² The great relic tower of wood which he erected there excited wonder and admiration of all for many centuries. The ancient site of Kanishka's capital has recently been discovered near the modern city of Peshāwar.

Kanishka adopted India as his country and ruled it personally from his capital at Purushapura. For his trans-border provinces,

His Foreign Rule. he appointed viceroys. We know from the Chinese annals the name of one of his viceroys,

Si who was sent on an expedition by him to the Trans-Pāmir region to fight with the Chinese General Pañcha'o,

¹ E.H.I. 4th Ed. p. 278

² Ind. Ant. XVII [1888], pp. 307-12,

We know very little of his governance. The Sārnāth Inscription dated the year 3 indicates that he maintained a Satrapal² system of government. We find that Kharapallāna was his Mahākshatrapa, presumably at Mathurā, and Vanaspata was governing the eastern region of Benares as a Kshatrapa.

His coins give certain indication of the gradual change of his religion. The early coins were Greek in character, script and language, and the latter ones were Persian in His Religion. language, Greek in script with a medley of Greek, Persian and Indian gods' portraits. His latest coins bear the image of Buddha which prove that Kanishka was a Buddhist and belonged to the Mahāyāna sect.

Kanishka was a foreigner by birth but an Indian by choice. He loved and adopted India's living faith in Buddhism as his religion. His earlier coins show that he was like his predecessors an adherent of pantheism. But his later coins and many monumental and epigraphic evidences clearly point to his conversion to Buddhism. Many Buddhist legends depict his earlier years in the blackest possible colour. He is, like Aśoka before his conversion, painted as a monster, with a heart thirsting for the blood of others. He loved to kill men. He has been made guilty of the cruellest deeds and his heart is never happy. At last he feels remorse and his heart recoils from the horrors of bloodshed and wars. At this stage, he comes across a Buddhist sage and like Aśoka, takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha and turns out a god-like man. The legend is an echo of many other Buddhist legends which have been associated with the conversion of important personages, e.g., Udayana, Aśoka and Menander by Buddhist writers to magnify the virtue of their religion. Allowing for the inevitable exaggerations of the legend, we can glean certain facts acceptable to sober history and that is that after his occupation of the city of Pāṭaliputra, he came into contact with the famous Buddhist saint and scholar Aśvaghosha who evidently impressed him with his character and scholarship for which Kanishka had a great leaning. He took Aśvaghosha with him to his capital and later accepted Buddhism as a result of the saint's personal

influence and exposition of the Law to him in a convincing manner.

Kanishka became an ardent Buddhist and followed in the footsteps of his illustrious proto-type Aśoka in the service of his religion.¹ The Mahāyāna texts give him as honoured place as

The Buddhist Council according to Buddhist traditions, Kanishka called

a great Buddhist Council at Kundalavana Vihāra in Kashmir.¹ The purpose is stated to have been to collate and to comment on the sacred books. The leading monks were Pārśva, Aśvaghosha and Vasumitra. Vasumitra was the President and Aśvaghosha the Vice-President of the Council. Two important results were obtained in the council. One was the new codification of the sacred Śāstras in the light of the new ideas and the growth of many new schools of Buddhist philosophy. The language of the new codification was Sanskrit. The other was the official recognition of the Mahāyāna Buddhism as state religion of which Kanishka became the patron for its propagation.

Before Kanishka, Buddhism was meant to suit an Indian audience. Under Aśvaghosha, Vasumitra and Nāgārjuna, through the help of the Buddhist Council, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism was definitely recognised as state religion. The germs of Mahāyānaism, as already stated in detail [Supra p. 59] were latent in Hinayānism. In Mahāyānism, Gautama

Buddha was elevated from his position of a teacher to that of God. Buddhism thus became theistic. This transformation of Buddhism from Hinayāna [Lower Vehicle] to Mahāyāna [Greater Vehicle] was more suitable to the mentality of Kanishka's subjects composed of different nationalities. Its simple theism based on a personal God had a greater appeal to them. Mahāyānism believed in the divinity of the Buddha, in the efficiency of prayer, devotion and faith. Not only personal salvation but that of the entire universe was the ideal of Mahāyānism. In short, a new life was infused in the old Buddhism and in its new form it spread rapidly to many countries beyond the borders of India. Tibet, China, Burma and Japan readily accepted the new form of

¹ Watters, I, pp. 270-278.

Buddhism. Mahāyānism is called the northern school of Buddhism, and Sanskrit is the vehicle of its literature to distinguish it from the old or Hinayāna Buddhism which is called the southern school, with Pāli as the medium of its sacred texts. Kanishka, as the royal supporter and patron of Mahāyānism, occupies an equally great place as Aśoka had occupied with regard to Hinayānism.

Kanishka was not only a mighty conqueror but a great builder also. His reign witnessed the growth of beautiful styles and the development of different schools of art. The sculpture, architecture and the relief-works had their development at four distinct centres, Sārnāth, Mathurā, Amarāvatī and Gandhāra. Each had a style of its own, uninfluenced by the other. There is, however, a faint resemblance to be noticed in the sculptural art in the statues discovered at Sārnath and Mathurā. The unique art of elaborate bas-reliefs discovered at Amarāvatī offer excellent examples of sculpture. The relic tower of the Buddha at Peshawar was chiefly constructed of wood and stood 400 feet high. The ruins of Taxila consist of three cities built at three different periods. The third city, now the Sirsukh section of the ruins, represents the one built by Kanishka.¹ He built a tower in Kashmir which still bears his name. He not only beautified Peshawar but also Mathurā with numerous buildings, monasteries and statues. His patronage of Mahāyānism led to the construction of a large number of images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas for worship. A large headless image constructed in the third year of Kanishka's reign was discovered at Sārnāth and another also headless [of the Buddha] constructed in the second year of his reign was recently discovered at Kauśāmbī.² In Mathurā has been discovered a remarkable portrait statue of Kanishka also lacking its head.

During the time of Kanishka, a vast number of Buddhist

¹ Marshall : A Guide to Taxila, pp. 6, 96 ff.

² See the author's book, "An Early History of Kauśāmbī" pp. 108-10.

monasteries, stūpas and statues springing into existence which bear a distant influence of the old Greek School of Gandhāra School of Art. This style of Greek art adapted to Indian genius and applied to Buddhist subjects may be called the 'Graeco-Buddhist School of art. But the name by which it is best known is the 'Gandhāra School of art, because the chief centre of its activity was the valley of Peshāwar, where Kanishka established his capital and this tract of the country was called Gandhāra. Large collection of the sculptures which this school produced have been made in the frontier and may be seen in the museums at Peshāwar, Lahore and Calcutta. The sculptures of this school were executed in stone, stucco, terracotta and clay and appear to have been invariably embellished with gold leaf or paint. Specimens preserved in Peshāwar, Lahore and other museums are executed in stone. But at Taxila, the archaeologists have recovered, besides stone images, a large number of stucco ones, a smaller number of terra-cotta and clay-figures. These discoveries have greatly added to our knowledge the technical skill employed by the artists of the Gandhāra School.¹ The Gandhāra School of art was confined more or less to the north western region of India and became the centre from which it was diffused to the Far East along with Buddhism. Besides giving birth to the Gandhāra School, Hellenistic art, to quote Sir John Marshall, "never took the real hold upon India that it took, for example, upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperament of the two peoples were radically different and dissimilar. To the Greek, man, man's beauty, intellect were every thing and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the key-note of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than the finite. While the Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual, where Greek was rational, his was emotional. And to these higher aspirations,

¹ Marshall: A Guide to Taxila, p. 31.

these more spiritual instincts he [the Indian] sought at a later date, to weave articulate expression by translating them into terms of form and colour."¹ There is no doubt that in Gupta art we see the fulfilment of this ideal when a closer contact had been established between thought and art.

Kanishka was a great patron of literature as of art and architecture. With love for learning and learned men, he gathered round him a band of men of great reputation.

Literature. Large quantities of Sanskrit literature of high standard, both religious and secular, were produced in that congenial atmosphere of royal patronage.

The name of Kanishka is associated with several eminent Buddhist writers. The most famous of them is Aśvaghosha.

He was a poet, musician, preacher, moralist, Asvaghosa. philosopher, play-wright, tale-teller ; he was an inventor of all these arts and excelled in all ; in richness and variety, he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant, and Voltaire. He is the author of the *Buddha Charita*, a complete life of Buddha written in the form of Mahākāvya in fine Sanskrit and style. The Buddhists rank this famous book with the great epic, Vālmiki's Rāmāyana. His second work is the *Saundarananda Kāvya* written in Kāvya style and deals with particular episodes of Buddha's life. The third work ascribed to the famous Buddhist writer is *Vajrasñīchi* in which he condemns Brāhmaṇical caste system by quoting authorities from Brāhmaṇical literature. Aśvaghosha's fame as dramatist rests upon the work *Sāriputraprakarana* which has been recently discovered.²

The person who stands next to Aśvaghosha in the field of

¹ Ib. p. 34.

² Lüders discovered some fragments of this work in palm leaf MSS, from Turfan and published in S.B.A., 1911, p. 388ff.

literature in the Kushāna period is Nāgārjuna.¹ This great teacher of the philosophy of relativity was born in Nagajuna the country of Vidiarbha in Southern India.

He studied the Vedas and other Brāhmaṇical scriptures. Being converted to Buddhism, he became one of the most important exponents of Mahāyāna philosophy. His best known works are *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sūtra-Sāstra* dealing with the philosophy of relativity which teaches that every thing exists in relation to something else, and that there is no independent existence of anything. For instance, there can be good only if there is something bad as well. There can be existence, only if there is non-existence. Thus there is no independent existence of anything. This philosophy is known as *Mādhyamika* or the philosophy of relativity.

The two other scholars associated with the name of Kanishka are *Vasumitra* and *Charaka*. *Vasumitra*, as President of the Buddhist Council convened by Kanishka, took a leading part in the examination of the Buddhist theological literature from the most

remote antiquity and in the preparation of the elaborate commentaries on the main three divisions of the Canon. One such commentary, the *Vibhāshā Sāstra* is, according to Taka Kusu, the work of Vasumitra. *Charaka*, the most celebrated author of the Āyurvedic science, is reputed to have been the court physician of Kanishka.

Kanishka was followed by three successive rulers, Vāishka, Huviṣhka and Vāsudeva. Very little is known about them. There are two inscriptions of Vāishka dated 24 and 28, proving his control over Mathurā and Eastern Mālwā. Huviṣhka seems to have lost Mālwā and the Lower Indus Valley which probably went under the control of the Chashṭana Śakas of Ujjain. That he had still sway over Mathurā, Kashmir and

¹ Some scholars put him in the second century A.D., and make him a contemporary of Kanishka II.

Kābul is proved by epigraphic and monumental evidences. The Waīdak Vase inscription [Ep. Ind. XI, pp. 210 f.] proves his rule over Kābul. 'The town of Hushkaputa¹' in Kashmīr built by Huviṣhka proves the inclusion of Kashmīr in his dominions. He also built a splendid monastery in Maṭhurā which shows that he was a patron of Buddhism. The Maṭhurā stone inscription of the year 28 = A.D. 106 [Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 60 f.] and the Waīdak Vase inscription of the year 51 = A.D. 129, provide the two fixed points of chronology of the reign period of Huviṣhka. But during this period we find the name of another Kanishka described as a Mahārāja Devaputra, which is the usual title borne by the sovereign rulers of the Kuśhāṇa dynasty, in the Ārā stone inscription of the year 41 = A.D. 119. He cannot be Kanishka I, as his immediate successors had already reigned before 119 A.D. He is therefore to be called Kanishka II. He is described in the inscription as a son of Vajishpa [Vāsiṣhka of the Sāñcī Buddhist Image inscription of the year 28² and Jushka of the Rājatarangī]. Therefore it is probable that Kanishka II ruled simultaneously with Huviṣhka.³ The exact reign period of Kanishka II and his relation with Huviṣhka are not known, but it is probable that the latter survived the former.

Vāsudeva was the last notable king of Kanishka's line. The dates of his inscriptions which range from the year 74 to 98 make his reign period *circa* 152-176 A.D. His inscriptions have been found only in Maṭhurā and its neighbourhood. This shows that he lost control of the north-western portion of the Kuśhāṇa empire. It appears that Vāsudeva discarded Buddhism. His coins bear on the reverse the figure of Śiva, with Nandi as his attendant, and show that he adopted Śaivism as his faith. His name which is associated with god Viṣhnu shows that the Kuśhāṇa ruler was completely Hinduised.

¹ U-ssc-kia-lo—*Lipi* p. 68.

² Ep. Ind. II, pp. 369-70. Sarkar, D. C. suggests that ~~ep~~ was intended by ~~ep~~ S. I. p. 149, n. 3.

³ Dr Raychaudhuri holds the same view [PHAI 3rd Ed. p. 325]

The Kushāṇa empire which started dismembering during the reign of Vāsudeva broke up into small principalities under petty chiefs whose names appear on coins. These chieftains finally disappeared at the close of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century A.D., having succumbed to the rising power of the Nāgas which dominated a large part of Northern India during that period.

CHAPTER IX

T H E NĀGAS

It appears that after the downfall of the Kushāṇas, the Nāgas ruled over a considerable portion of Northern India. Several Vākāṭaka records mention that Rudrasena II who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II was a grandson's grandson of Bhaya Nāga who was the king of the Bhāraśīva-Nāgas. This shows that the Nāgas were a ruling power in Northern India before the Gupta imperial power was established. The Purāṇas mention that the Nāgas ruled over Vidiṣā, Padmāvatī [C. I.], Kāntipurī [Mirzapur District] and Mathurā. We find the name of a Nāga King Maheśvara Nāga, son of Nāgabhaṭṭa, in a Lāhoī copper seal inscription. This shows that the Nāga rule was also established in the Punjab. A Vākāṭaka Lapidary, the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravāsena II shows that a branch of the Nāga dynasty, the Bhāraśīva Nāgas ruled the kingdoms bordering on the Bhāgirathī [the Ganges] and performed ten Aśvamedha ceremonies. Dr. Jayaswal suggests that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭa at Benares. The suggestion is problematical. A daughter of their king Bhavanāga was married to the Vākāṭaka prince Gautamiputra whose son was Rudrasena. Rudrasena is probably to be identified with the Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. There is no doubt that the Nāgas were a powerful rival of the rising power of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The Nāga princes offered the first resistance to the imperialism of Samudragupta who, as is stated in his Allahabad *prastasti*, defeated and killed several Nāga princes, e.g., Gaṇapati Nāga [king of Padmāvatī], Nāgasena [king of Mathurā]. Amongst other defeated kings mentioned in the Allahabad inscription are Achyuta whose coins have been found in Rāmanagar [in the Bareilly District] and Nandi. Both were probably Nāga kings. Thus the Nāga family, scattered in different parts of India under separate kings, ruled the countries of the

Madhyadeśa including Mathurā, the Central India and the Punjab during the period between the downfall of the Kushāṇas and the rise of the Guptas into a full-fledged imperial power. That the Nāgas retained their power over some portion of Northern India even up to the end of the fifth century A.D. is clear from the fact that a hand of the Nāga princess; Kuberanāgā, was sought by the great Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II [Rithpu Plate, S.I., p. 416].¹

¹ The view that the Bhārāśiva Nāgas attained great imperial power as held by Dr. Jayaswal [History of India from 150-350 A.D.] has been contested by Dr. Altekar. [Dr. Altekar points out, among other things, that the performance of ten Aśvamedhas is no sure evidence of imperial conquests and power. There are instances of several rulers with no claim to imperial power performing Aśvamedha sacrifices. For examples, Śāntamūla, the Ikshvāku who ruled only over two or three districts performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice in c. 225 A.D. The Kadamba king, Krishnavarman who was not even an independent king, performed it in C. 450. The Vishṇu Kundin king Mādhavavarman I performed no less than eleven Aśvamedhas although his kingdom was a small one. N.H.I. p. 26, n. 2.

CHAPTER X

THE GUPTA EMPIRE [c. 300-500 A.D.]

In the third century A.D., as we have seen, Northern India lacked political unity. It was divided into a number of independent states. The Nāgas ruled over a considerable portion of Northern India, though they never rose to be a great imperial power. The history of the disjointed states of Northern India is more or less obscure and the results of modern researches on regional histories of this period are out of place in this book. The beginning of the fourth century, however, ushers a new epoch—the rise of a paramount power in India. Confusion and disintegration gave place to unity. Art, industry, science and literature developed under the patronage of powerful and enlightened emperors. Foreign relations which had a set back in the preceding century were re-established with their former dignity and prestige.

THE EARLY GUPTA RULERS

The Gupta Empire grew out of a small feudal principality. The Gupta Emperors in their epigraphs trace their descent from Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta. He is the first ancestor of the imperial Guptas

Origin of the Gupta Power known to us and is described only as Mahārāja. This shows he was not a paramount sovereign but a feudatory chief. According to the late Dr. Jayaswal he ruled a principality near Pṛayāg under the suzerainty of the Bhāraśivas. Allan and other scholars think that his principality was confined to Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood. I-tsing, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India at the close of the seventh century A.D., mentions a Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta

[Che-li-ki-to] who built a temple for Chinese pilgrims near Mrigashikhavana 500 years before his visit. Allan identifies Sri-Gupta with Mahārāja Gupta, the grand-father of Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta era in 319-20 A.D. The identification militates against that recognised date which makes an interval of more than a century between them. But dates given by I-tsing, argues Allan, may not be taken too literally, as he himself depended on traditions and used a round number. It must be noted that the word Sri is not an integral part of the name, but is used as a honorific term.

Mahārāja Gupta's son, according to epigraphs, is Ghatotkacha. He also is styled as a simple Mahārāja, showing his feudatory character. A number of Gupta seals have been found by Mr. Bloch in the Basārh excavations. One of them bears the inscription Sri Ghatotkachaguptasya. Mr. Bloch thinks that it belongs to the second Gupta ruler. His view is accepted by Vincent Smith but is rejected by Allan on the ground that the most important of these seals, and the one which gives the key to the date of the whole collection is a seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of the Mahārājādhīrāja Chandragupta II and mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta and that there should be a seal of a king who lived a century ago and no other seal of the intermediate period be found. He thinks that the Ghatotkachagupta of the seal was probably a member of the royal family holding some office at the court of the Yuvarāja Govindagupta. The absence of such titles as Mahārāja still further proves that he cannot be the second Gupta ruler Ghatotkacha¹.

The view of Allan receives further support by the fact that Bāsarh, the site of the ancient city of Vaiśālī, was under the independent republican tribe of the Lichchhavis in the time of the second Gupta ruler. Furthermore it may be noted that the name given in the Gupta genealogical epigraphs is Ghaṭotkacha and not Ghatotkachagupta.

¹ RASI, 1903-4, pp. 102, JRAS 1903, p. 153; Allan, pp. XVI-VII.

THE IMPERIAL GUPTA RULERS

Chandragupta I

Ghaṭotkacha was succeeded by his son **Chandragupta I**. He was the first of the Gupta rulers to assume the title of Mahārājādhīraja. His queen is the first of the line to be mentioned in the genealogical list.

Lichchhavi
Marriage :
The Foundation
of the Gupta
Empire.

She was the Mahādevī Kumāradevī, 'daughter of Lichchhavi.' Samudragupta in the Allahabad inscription is described as 'Lichchhavi daūhitiaḥ', the son of the daughter of Lichchhavi and the same epithet is applied to him in all the subsequent epigraphs of the Gupta rulers. The title Mahādevī applied to Kumāradevī corresponds to Mahārājādhīraja and was a prerogative of queens of paramount sovereigns. The Lichchhavi marriage of Chandiagupta is further commemorated by a series of Gupta coins having on the *obv.* standing figures of Chandragupta and Kumāradevī with their names and on the *rev.* the figure of Lakshmi seated on a lion with the legend "Lichchhavayāḥ." The Lichchhavis were the well known Kshatriya republican people, famous in the Buddhist books, ruling in Vaiśālī [mod. Basārh]. They were always a thorn on the side of the imperial Magadha. We have seen how in the earliest days of the expansion of Magadha as a dominant power in North-Eastern India Bimbisāra won them over by a matrimonial alliance and Ajātaśatru temporarily crippled their power by a stratagem and then built a fort at Pāṭaliputra to check their future aggression [*Supra*, p. 76 f.]. It is evident from the pride with which the Lichchhavi connection is mentioned by the successors of Chandiagupta I that this union marked an epoch in the greatness of the Gupta family. Allan suggests that the matrimonial alliance was the result of the conquest of the Lichchhavis by Chandragupta I. The suggestion is doubtful in view of the fact that in the list of the territories over which he ruled Samudragupta omits Vaiśālī. Another significant fact is that Kumāradevī appears as a joint-sovereign with Chandragupta I. Never in the history of the Gupta coinage, other queens appear as such. This shows that the Lichchhavis were an independent

and not subordinate ally of Chandragupta I. This alliance with the war-like Licchhavis who must have been of tremendous help to Chandragupta to conquer the neighbouring states to found an empire and assume the title of Mahārājādhirāja was gratefully commemorated by the Gupta emperors in their inscriptions. It is doubtful that a princess of a defeated people, whose powers were destroyed and their territory annexed, married to the conqueror as a price of the treaty of peace, should have been allowed to figure as a joint-sovereign with her husband on the coins, and that the alliance with her people should have been repeatedly mentioned in the epigraphs of the successors of the conquering king with such pride and gratitude.

No inscription or records of Chandragupta's reign are known which might give us details of the extent of the conquests. But

from our knowledge of Samudragupta's conquests it may be deduced that he [Samudragupta] was already in the possession of the Ganges Valley from the confluence of the Jumna [Prayāga] to Pātaliputra which he evidently inherited from his father. It seems to be to Chandragupta's reign that the verses in the Purāṇas defining the Gupta Dominions refer :

*Anugangā Prayāgam iha Śāketam Magadhbāmstathā
Etān janpadān sarvān bhokshyante Gupta-vāṁśajāḥ¹*

Chandragupta I founded a new era known as the Gupta era. The first year of this era starts in February 320 A.D., which is assumed the first year of the coronation of Chandragupta I

According to the latest calculations the era starts The Gupta Era from December 319.² This event is one of great importance for the purpose of chronology of the Gupta rulers, as all their epigraphs have used the dates in that era.

¹ Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 99, Śl 383.

² P.C. Sengupta, JRAS, 1942.

Samudragupta

Chandragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. Some gold coins of Kācha closely resembling the issues of Samudragupta have been found. They bear the name of Kācha on the obverse, and the legend ‘*Sarvarājochhettā*’ in Who is Kacha? Brāhmī characters on the reverse. Dr. Vincent Smith¹ thinks that the Kācha of the coin was a rival brother of Samudragupta. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is known from the drama *Devīchitraguptam* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandragupta II [Mīlaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 204-06]. But the epithet ‘*Sarvarājochchhettā*’ makes it difficult to identify him with a brother of Samudragupta who succeeded him or his successor Rāmagupta who is depicted in the drama, the only source of our information about him, as a coward who did not hesitate to sell his wife to the foreign invader to purchase peace. On the other hand, the closeness of the resemblance of the Kācha coins with those of Samudragupta, and the epithet ‘destroyer of all kings’ applied to the author of the coins make the identification of Kācha with Samudragupta reasonable. Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son Chandragupta who was also known as Devagupta² or Devaīāja.³

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta is a comprehensive record of the character and achievements of the great

¹ The Allahabad Pillar Inscription Emperor. It is an undated inscription. But it is not posthumous as Fleet states. The record was engraved after his wars in Northern India and the Deccan and before his performance of the Aśvamedha, which is consequently not found mentioned in it. The Pillar which also contains the inscriptions of Aśoka [*Supra*], was originally at Kauśāmbī [mod. Kosam] near Allahabad and was removed to

¹ EHI, 4th ed. p. 297, n. 1.

² Cf. Chammak Copper Plate Inscription of Rudra Sena II.

³ Vide, Sāñchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II.

the Allahabad fort built by Akbar. The inscription is non-sectarian, and purely historical. The composer, Harishena, was a poet of high order, as the excellence of the style and language of the *prasasti* shows. He was moreover a high officer of state—a minister of peace and war [*Sāndhi-vigrahika*], who probably accompanied the king in his military campaigns¹ and as such was in close touch with the events. Therefore his writing may be taken as correct in details, and as an authentic source of history of Samudragupta. The *prasasti* is written partly in verse and partly in prose.

The first portion of the inscription which is written in verse and consists of eight stanzas gives us information with regard to the early education of Samudragupta and his fitness for the future exalted position which he was destined to fill as his father's choicest nominee to the throne. The first two stanzas are more or less completely gone, but certain words that remain indicate that Samudragupta must have successfully fought certain battles during the life time of his father. The third stanza shows that Samudragupta was an accomplished scholar, deeply learned in the *Sāstras* and fond of the company of learned men. The fourth stanza refers to the nomination of Samudragupta by his father to succeed him with the blessing, 'Rule over the whole world' [*nibhilām pāhyevamurvīmiti*] in the presence of the courtiers who were delighted, and the kinsmen who looked pale [with jealousy] at the event. [*Sabhyeshūcchhvasiteshu tulya kulaja mlānananodvīkshtab*] The next two stanzas [nos. 5 and 6] which are broken in several important places probably refer to some war [civil war with his kinsmen?] in which [Sāngrama] his enemies [apakārāh] were defeated by his prowess [*svabujamitā*]. They were probably pardoned, for the subsequent line shows that their minds being filled with gladness and affection [*toshottungaih sphutabahurasasneha-pbhullarmanobhip*] expressed their repentance [*paśchāttapāṇi*].

¹ It seems the ministers of War and Peace of the Gupta rulers usually accompanied their masters in their military campaigns. Cf. Udayagiri Cave Ins. of Chandragupta II [C.I.I., III, p. 25].

The 7th and 8th stanzas and the prose passage following them give details of Samudragupta's military exploits and conquests resulting in a considerable expansion of the empire. In line 13 of the inscription, we find, that Samudragupta defeated three kings of Northern India who offered the first resistance to his expansionist policy towards the west. These three kings were Achyuta Nāga, Nāga Sena and Gaṇapati Nāga. They were all Nāga kings ruling in Ahichchhatra, Mathurā and Padmavatī [mod. Nārwār, Gwalior State] respectively. This was the first campaign of Āryāvarta. These three names occur again in l. 21 along with the names of other rulers of Āryāvarta whom he met in battle after his southern campaign.

After having consolidated his conquests in the Gangetic plains and the Doab, Samudragupta set out on the conquest of the South.

^{Southern Campaign} Lines 19 and 20 describe the campaign in details.

Twelve kingdoms in the Dakshināpatha are mentioned, the kings of which were captured and later released by Samudragupta. He was satisfied with their submission and probably tributes, and did not annex the countries to his territories under direct rule. The kings mentioned are : [1] Mahendra of Kośala, [2] Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, [3] Maṇtarāja of Koṭāla, [4] Mahendra of Pishṭapura, [5] Svāmidatta of Koṭūra, [6] Damana of Eraṇḍapalla, [7] Vishṇugopa of Kāñchi [8] Nilarāja of Ayamukta, [9] Hastivarman of Vengī, [10] Ugrasena of Pālakka [11] Kuvera of Devāśhtra and [12] Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura.

The names of the places which seem to be in geographical order, indicate the route of the march. Most of these names have been satisfactorily identified : [1] Kośala is the South Kośala or the districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur, [2] Mahākāntāra or a great forest region of Central India, where he defeated Vyāghrarāja, identified with Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛithuvīṣena, of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions [Fleet, Nos. 53-54]. Nachna is in the Jaso State, Bundelkhand. [3] Koṭāla or Kerala has been identified with the Sonpur District in Central Provinces, its capital being on the Mahānādi, [4] Pishṭapura, modern

Pithapuram in the Godāvarī district, [5] *Kottūra* is modern Kothoor near Mahendragiri in Gañjam district, [6] *Erandapalla* has been identified with localities in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. Then follow three names, e.g. [7] *Vishnugopa* of Kāñchi, [8] *Nilarāja* of Avamukta, and [9] *Hastivarman* of Ven̄gi. Kāñchi is modern Conjeeveram, south-west of Madras; Ven̄gi is in Nellore district north of Madras and Avamukta is according to scholars in the Godāvarī district¹ which is still north of Nellore. These three names, at any rate, are not mentioned in geographical order of the onward march. It is, therefore, 'possible, as Dubreuil suggests² that there was a confederacy of those three southern states under the headship of Vishnugopa, the most powerful ruler of the three and whose name, therefore, has been mentioned first in disregard of the geographical order hiterto followed. Kāñchi was the well-known Pallava capital in the fourth century A.D. There is no doubt that both Vishnugopa and Hastivarman belonged to the Pallava Dynasty. Hastivarman of Ven̄gi has been identified by Hultzsch with Attivarman of the Pallava race [IHQ, I. 2, p. 253]. Avamukta was probably a small principality. Jayaswal finds some similarity in that name with the Āvā Country whose capital was Pithurida³ mentioned in the Hāthigumpha Inscription. The confederacy under the leadership of the Pallava King Vishnugopa of Kāñchi against Samudragupta was a very probable event. Where Samudragupta actually met the army of the confederacy is not certain. He may or may not have advanced as far as Kāñchi. But it seems certain that he never advanced beyond Kāñchi. Dubreuil's suggestion however, that Samudragupta was defeated by the confederacy cannot be accepted in the face of the direct evidence to the contrary provided by the inscription which clearly states that Samudragupta defeated them. The last three countries mentioned in the list are [10]

¹ PHAI, 3rd ed. p. 367; Cf. Gazetteer of the Godāvarī District Vol. I. p. 213.

² Ancient History of the Deccan.

³ Jayaswal's reading : Avaiāja-nivesitam Pithumḍam [Ep. Ind., XX, p. 72 f.]

Pälakka and [11] *Devarāshṭra* and [12] *Kuṣṭhalapura*. Pälakka has been located in the Nellore District [IHQ, 1, 2, 698]. Devarāshṭra has been identified with the Yellamañchili tract in the Vizagapatam district [Dubreuil, AHD., p. 160]. Kuṣṭhalapura has been identified by Barnett with Kuttalur in North Arcot [Calcutta Review, 1924, p. 253 n.].

The identifications given above clearly show that Samudragupta's campaigns were limited to the eastern coast of the Deccan. The other view that Samudragupta returned by the western coast was due to the identifications proposed by Smith and Fleet of Eranḍapalla with Erandol in Khandesh, and if Devarāshṭra be Mahārāshṭra. But, as we have seen above, those places have been located in the Eastern Deccan. Dubreuil also thinks that the identification of Eranḍapalla with Erandol and of Devarāshṭra with Mahārāshṭra is probably wrong [Modern Review, 1921, p. 457]. There is another important point to consider. The central and western parts of the Deccan were under the rule of the Vākāṭakas, and the name of the Vākāṭaka ruler is not found in the list of the princes defeated by Samudragupta in his Southern campaign. That the Vākāṭaka power remained intact during the southern campaign of Samudragupta can be inferred from the fact that the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena I [identified with Rudradeva of the inscription] was the most powerful of the Āryāvarta rulers to be chosen as the head of the confederacy which Samudragupta defeated in a second Āryāvarta war which took place after his southern campaign [*Infra*].

Line 21 of the inscription repeats the three names [mentioned in L. 13] and six new names of the rulers of Āryāvarta, all of whom were completely exterminated by Samudragupta. They are

Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Chandravarman,

The Second Āryāvarta War : Ganapatināga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nandi, and
The Battle of Balavarman. It seems clear that Samudragupta
Kausambi ? met these rulers on his return home after the

southern campaign. It is probable that the above-mentioned kings made a confederacy during Samudragupta's absence in the South, and he had a second war to fight

in Āryāvarta. Otherwise, there is no point in mentioning Gānapatināga, Achyuta and Nāgasena a second time and all other names along with them after the description of the southern campaign. There is no indication in the inscription as to the place where the battle with the confederate army took place. But our surmise is that it may have taken place in Kauśāmbī where high-roads from North, South and West converged, making it possible for all the rulers of Northern India named in the inscription to congregate easily. After this great victory over the northern princes, Harisilena, the king's minister of war, who was most probably present in the war, composed the *prasasti* which was engraved on the Aśoka pillar found conveniently on the spot.

Most of the kings mentioned in the inscription [l. 21] have been satisfactorily identified : [1] Rudradeva has been identified by K. N. Dikshit and Jayaswal with Rudrasena I of the Vākātaka dynasty. [IHQ, I, 2, 254; Jayaswal, Hist. Ind. 150-350 A.D.]. His territories included Bundelkhand [C. I.] and Central and Western Deccan. Being a powerful sovereign, his name comes first, probably as the head of the confederacy. [2] Matila was a ruler of a region in Western U. P. A clay seal bearing his name has been found in Bulandshahī [Ind. Ant. VIII, p. 989]. [3] Nāgadatta was perhaps a Nāga king, and has not been definitely identified. [4] Chandravarman has been identified with the 'Mahārāja Chandravarman of Pushkarāṇa' of the Susunia Rock Inscription [Ep. Ind. XIII, p. 133]. Dr Haridas Śāstrī identified Pushkarāṇa with Pushkara near Ajmer. Others like Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri and D. C. Sarker identify Pushkarāṇa with Pokharāṇa, placed on the Damodar river in the Bankura District [Bengal]. [5] Ganapati Nāga was a Nāga king of Padmāvatī whose coins have been found in Nawai, near Padam Pawayā [ancient Padmāvatī] in the Gwalior State. [6] Nāgasena, also a Nāga prince, has been identified by Jayaswal as a ruler of Mathurā¹. [7] Achyuta was a Nāga ruler of Akichchhatra [mod. Rāmanagar in the Bareilly Dist., U.P.] where his coins have been found. [8] Nandi was perhaps another Nāga prince ruling

¹ Jayaswal: Hist. of India, 150-350 A.D.
E. 21

some territory in Central India. In the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas the name of Śiśunandi or Śivanandi is connected with the Nāga rulers of Central India. Dubreuil identifies Śivanandi with Nandi of the inscription [AHD, p. 31]. [9] *Balavarman* has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Some scholars think that he was the king of Assam and was a predecessor of Bhāskaravarmā, the contemporary of Harsha. [Ep. Ind. XII, p. 69].

Samudragupta compelled the forest tribes [*ātavika-rājas*] to submit to him [*parichārakikṛita*]. According to Dr. Fleet the forest regions extended from Gazipur Dist. in Forest countries the U. P. to Jabbalpore in the C. P. [Fleet, G. I., p. 144]. The conquest of this region was considered a necessity by Samudragupta to keep open the route of communication between Āryāvarta and the South. The Eran [Sāgar Dist. C. P.] inscription of Samudragupta also lends support to his conquest of this region.

Line 22 of the inscription gives a list of five frontier [*pratyanta*] countries which not only paid tributes to Samudragupta but came to pay their homage to him at his command.

Frontier States. The States were [1] *Samataṭa* [mod. Badkamta, near Comilla, Tipperah District]; [2] *Davāka* [mod. Dabok in Naogong District, Assam]; [3] *Kāmarūpa* [Gauhati region of Assam]; [4] *Nepal*; [5] *Kartripurī* [Katuriārāj of Kamaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand].

The nine tribal peoples which submitted to Samudragupta are mentioned as follow: [1] The *Mālavas*. They were an ancient republican tribe called by the Greeks as Malloī.

Tribal peoples They offered a stiff resistance to Alexander in their homeland in the Punjab, but were defeated. They later migrated to Rājputānā and ultimately settled in the region which became known as Mālwā or the land of the Mālavas. A large number of Mālava coins have been found in the Jaipur State [Rājputānā] with the legend 'Mālavagāṇasya jayah' [JRAS, 1893, p. 882]. [2] The *Ārjunīyanas* who probably lived in the region of the present Bharatpur State where a large number of their

coins have been found bearing the inscription “*Arjunayanañānām Jayab.*” [C. C. I. M. p. 161].

[3] The *Yaudheyas*, an ancient republican tribe who lived in the Eastern Punjab in the Sutlaj region, [*infra*], Bhāratpur and possibly further South [C.C.I.I. III, No. 58].

[4] The *Madrakas*, another very ancient republican people whose capital was Śākala or Śialkot in the Punjab.

[5] The *Abhiras* lived in the Punjab and western Rājputānā. A section of the tribe evidently settled in Central India, as the region between Jhansi and Bhilsa is known Āhuwād, after their name [JRAH, 1897, p. 891].

[6] The *Psārjunas* are also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstria*. They are placed in the Narsinghpur District [C. P. J.]

[7] The *Sanakānikas* lived in East Mālwā. A ruler of the Sanakānikas, son of Mahārāja Vishṇudāsa, has been mentioned as a vassal chief of Chandragupta II in his Udayagiri [near Bhilsa] Cave Inscription of the year 402 A.D.¹

[8] The *Kākas* possibly lived in the region of Kākanādbota, the ancient name of Sāñchi [9] The *Kharaparikas* probably lived in Central India. .

Lines 23 and 24 of the inscription mention certain foreign potentates who purchased peace by self-surrender and acts of homage such as the bringing of gifts of maidens [*Kanyopāyana-dāna*], and the prayer [*Yāchana*] for charters stamped Foreign powers with the Garuḍa seal.² [*garutmadāka-svavishayabhukti-sāsana*]. The foreign powers who thus voluntarily entered into some sort of subordinate alliance with Samudragupta were : [1] *Daivaputra-Shāhi-shahānuṣhāhi* who was evidently a scion of the imperial Kushāṇa ruler, then ruling some territory in the north-west. The Imperial Kushāṇa rulers, e.g. Kanishka and his descendants assumed the titles of *Devaputra* [Son of Gods]

¹ C.I.I., III, p. 25.

² The Garuḍa bird was a Gupta royal emblem, found in the standard of the Gupta Kings. It is represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

and Rājāmāja [King of Kings]. The latter may be the Persian counterpart of Shāhānushshāh [Shāhanshāh].

[2] The Śaka Murundas may mean two separate ethnic groups, the Murundas being a Scythian tribe like the Śakas as Dr. Raychaudhuri suggests or denote 'Lords of the Śakas' as Sten Konow argues on the ground that the word Muruṇḍa is a Śaka word meaning Lord, Skt. Svāmin¹.

[3] The people of Sīṁhala [*Saimbalakādi*] and other dwellers in islands [*Sarvadvipa-Vāsibhiḥ*]. According to a Chinese source [Ind. Ant. 1902, pp. 192-97] Samudragupta's Ceylonese contemporary was Meghavarṇa who sent an embassy with gifts to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a monastery at Bodha-Gayā for the use of Chinese pilgrims. It is not clear what 'all other dwellers in islands' definitely mean.

Having thus established a vast empire Samudragupta naturally performed the Aśvamedha ceremony which has been traditionally recognised in India as a 'The Aśvamedha Sacrifice symbol of imperialism. He issued on the occasion of the sacrifice gold coins for distribution to Brahmins which contain on the obverse a horse standing before a Yūpa [sacrificial post] and on the reverse the queen and the Legend 'Aśvamedha *parākramāḥ*' [he whose valour has been established by Aśvamedha]. He must have performed this sacrifice sometime after the Allahabad prasasti was recorded, as it is not mentioned there. The fact is, however, mentioned in the inscriptions of his successors who state that it was revived by Samudragupta after it had long been in abeyance [*Cbirotsannāśva-medhāhartubhiḥ*]. But this is apparently an exaggeration as we know the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas and Pravarasena I Vākātaka celebrated the Aśvamedha not very long before Samudragupta.²

¹ PHAI, 3rd. Ed., p. 373.

² Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, VII, pp. 164-65; Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—Studies in Gupta History, pp. 44-45.

Harishena describes Samudragupta as a man of versatile genius. He was not only great in war winning all his battles, but great in the arts of peace.¹ He was an accomplished A versatile Genius scholar, learned in the sacred literature [Śāstias], a poet of the highest order [Kavīrāja], a patron of learning. He was such an excellent musician that his performance of music, says Harishena, even excelled Tumburu and Nālada. His love for music and sports is further proved by his certain coin-types. In one he is shown playing on a viṇā [Lyrist type] and in others [e.g. Archer and Tiger types] he is shown in the attitude of hunting.

Samudragupta was probably the first Gupta ruler to issue an extensive coinage. His commonest type is the standard type which closely resembles the late Kushāṇa coins of the Eastern Punjab. His other coins are Archer, Battle-axe, Tiger and Lyrist Types. According to Allan, the Chandragupta I and Kācha Types of coins also were issued by Samudragupta. But this is a matter of opinion.

It is very difficult to be definite about the reign-period of Samudragupta. Dr. Vincent Smith fixes it 330-375 A.D. The Nālanda Plate¹ and the Gayā Plate which are dated inscriptions contain the date of the G. E. 5 and G. E. Date of Samu- dragupta 9 respectively. In that case Samudragupta's reign began from 324 or 325 A.D. The earliest recorded date of his son and successor Chandragupta II as found in Mathurā Inscription is G. E. 61. Therefore his reign must have ended before 380 A.D. Most scholars, however, consider both Nālanda and Gayā Plates as spurious [S. I., p. 262, n. 4], although the well-known archaeologist, the late Prof. Rakhal das Banerji believes the Gaya-Plate to be genuine².

¹ Considered spurious by Fleet.

² Manindra Chandra Nandi Lectures, p. 8.

[APPENDIX III]

RĀMAGUPTA

According to the Gupta genealogical lists provided in their inscriptions the immediate successor of Samudragupta was his son Chandragupta II. But new light has been thrown on the genealogy of the imperial Guptas through the discovery of a Sanskrit play, the *Devīchandraguptam* by Viśākhadatta, the reputed author of another historical drama the *Mūdrārākshasa* [600 A.D.]. The drama is lost, but certain passages of the work have been found quoted in the newly discovered work on dramaturgy by Ramachandra and Gunachandra called *Nātyadarpana*. Sylvain Levi noticed these passages for the first time and published them in the *Journal Asiatique* [1923, pp. 201-3]. These extracts from the *Devīchandraguptam* begin from the second Act where it is stated that Rāmagupta agrees to give away his queen, Dhruvadevī, to the Śakas, in order to remove the apprehensions of his subjects. Dhruvadevī complains of the heartlessness of her husband. Prince Chandragupta kills Śakādhīpati in the guise of Dhruvadevī, then murders his brother and marries Dhruvadevī.

Although the drama is not yet available in its complete form, the following facts can be deduced from the above extracts :

1. Samudragupta was succeeded by his eldest son Rāmagupta, who was a weak and cowardly king.

2. There was war between the Imperial Guptas and the Śakas.

3. The Śakas were defeated by Chandragupta II. Bāṇa [700 A.D.] refers to this event in his *Harshacharita* where he states that Chandragupta killed the Lord of the Śakas, having entered the enemy's camp in the guise of a woman [*aripure cha para-kalatra-kāmukam kāminiveshaguptab Chandraguptab Śakapatimashātayat*]. The commentator of *Harshacharita*, Saṅkarārya [c. 1400 A.D.] explains that the lord of the Śakas was desirous of Dhruvadevī, sister-in-law of Chandragupta who killed him in the guise of

Dhruvadevi.¹ The story is also found mentioned in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of the poet Rājaśekhaia [1100 A.D.] and in the Śringāra-Piakāśa of King Bhoja of Dhār [1100 A.D.]. Lately Altekar [JBORS, XIV, p. 151] has drawn attention of scholars to the story of Rawal and Baikāshītis narrated in Majmul-ut-Tawālikh, a work compiled in the eleventh century A.D.² The author of that work Abul Hasan Ali [1026 A.D.] made a literal translation of an Arabic work, which, in its turn was a translation of a Hindu work. The story has a great resemblance to the plot of Devīchandragupta. Rawal stands for Rāmagupta, and Barkamālis for Vikramāditya. The story is almost the same as in the plot of Devīchandragupta extracted in the Nātya Daipana.

We find an echo of this story also in an inscription of the 9th century A.D. The Sañjan Copper-Plate inscription of Amoghavarsha I [871 A.D.] probably refers to it, where it is stated that the donor, in the Kaliyuga, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed [his] brother, seized [his] kingdom and wife" [Ep. Ind. VIII]

Thus the story which was current in books and epigraphs from the 6th to the 11th century A.D. cannot be lightly dismissed as a mere imagination of the poet. Viśākhadatta is well known as a writer of historical plays containing germs of historical facts. His *Mudrārākshasa* is based on some historical events which took place nearly a thousand years before his time. He was not far removed from the time of Chandragupta II [400-500 A.D.] and the episode was too recent for him to make any mistake about its details. Further, it is unthinkable that an author living in the Gupta age should have thought of discrediting even in a dramatic play, a scion of the Imperial Guptas as a mere imaginary creation, unless it had some foundation in fact to provide him with the

¹ Cf. "शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायां द्रुवदेवीं प्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेन द्रुवदेवीवेशधारिणा स्त्रीवेशजनपरिवृतेन व्यापादितः ।" —Sankarārya's Commentary.

² Eliot and Dawson, History of India, Vol. I, pp. 110-12.

necessary justification. The play undoubtedly reflected the contempt which the ruler and the ruled of the writer's time had for Rāmagupta as a man and a king.

Now, two questions arise: [1] why is there no reference to Rāmagupta in any of the Gupta inscriptions or [2] the existence of any coins bearing his name?

The questions may be explained by the fact that his own personal reign was too short and troublous to issue any coins or construct any epigraphic monuments himself. The omission of his name in the later Gupta inscriptions, e.g., in those of Chandragupta II and his successors is due to the fact that the epigraphic lists are genealogical and not dynastic, the names of collateral predecessors being generally omitted. For instance in the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I or the Bhitari and Bihār Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta which contain the genealogical lists of their predecessors, the name of Govindagupta, a son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi¹, is omitted. A more fitting illustration is found in the Bhitari Seal [*Ind. Ant.* XIX] in which Kumāragupta II in tracing his genealogy from Mahārāja Gupta mentions his father Purugupta immediately after Kumāragupta I, and omits the name of Skandagupta, who, although an imperial Gupta ruler of Magadha, was of a collateral branch in relation to the royal author of the inscription. Moreover, Rāmagupta's records were too ignominious to be mentioned by the later Gupta kings in their inscriptions, even if any of their successors in the direct line ever ruled and published any epigraphic list².

¹ Cf. Basāth Seals [ASR, 1903-4].

² For further light on this problem read A. S. Altekar, *JBORS* XIV, 223 ff; XV, 134 ff; R. D. Banerji [AIG pp. 26 ff.] D.R. Bhandarkar, *Mālavīya Comm.* Vol p. 189 ff; K. P. Jayaswal; *JBORS* XVIII, 17 ff; Winternitz, *Aiyangar Comm.* vol. pp. 359 ff; Sten Konow *JBORS* XXIII, 444; V. V. Mirashi *IHQ* X, 48; *IA* LXII, 201 N. Das Gupta, *IC* IV, 216; H. C. Raychaudhuri *PHAI* 4th Ed., p. 465.

CHANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA

[c. 380-414 A.D.]

The next great imperial Gupta ruler after Samudragupta was Chandragupta II. His mother's name was Dattadevi. He is more popularly known as Chandragupta Succession Vikramāditya which title he probably assumed after his hard-won victory over the Śaka Kshatrapas of Ujjain. It seems probable that Chandragupta was chosen as his father's nominee as the best fitted to succeed him. In giving the genealogical list of his predecessors in the Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription [C.I.I., III, p. 49 f.] Skandagupta describes his grandfather Chandragupta II as 'the chosen of Samudragupta' [*tatpaurigribhītah*]. The term undoubtedly proves that Samudragupta had more than one sons. Perhaps Rāmagupta was one of them [See Appendix III]. The Eraṇ Inscription of Samudragupta [C.I.I., III, p. 20] also describes him as the owner of 'many sons and grandsons' [*babuputra-pautra*]. He was not evidently the eldest son of his father, the lawful crown-prince, for in that case there should not have been any necessity for nomination. If the story of Rāmagupta, who is shown there as Chandragupta's elder brother, is to be believed, then some time elapsed between the death of Samudragupta and the accession of Chandragupta.

The earliest recorded date of Chandragupta II's reign is G.E. 61=A.D. 380 [Mathurā Inscription; Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 8 f.]. Therefore, we can assume that his reign began at least before His reign-period 380 A.D. A number of dated inscriptions enable us to define the limits of his reign. His latest dated record is the Sāñchi Stone Inscription of G.E. 93 = A.D. 412 [C.I.I. III, p. 31]. The earliest dated record of his son and successor Kumāragupta I is the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of G.E. 96=A.D. 415. Therefore we may assume that Chandragupta II's reign ended sometime between 412 and 415, probably in or about A.D. 413 or 414.

Chandragupta II inherited a vast empire from his father. But his hereditary enemies the Śakas were a thorn on his side. The remnant of the Śaka power in India still retained their hold in

The Saka war [Kāthiāwāḍī] Chandragupta determined to destroy these western Satraps. There is no doubt that he won a great victory over them and annexed their territories to his empire. Literary allusions to this Śaka War in which the Śaka chief was killed by Chandragupta by a stratagem mentioned in the *Dvī-chandragupṭam* and the *Harshacharita*, etc., have already been discussed [*Supra*]. They all agree to the fact that the Śaka king was slain in his own town. Some other evidences point to the historicity of this war. The Vākātaka alliance by Chandragupta has been rightly assessed by scholars as a preliminary preparation for the invasion of Western India [*infra* p. 251]. The Udaigiri [near Bhilsa, Eastern Mālwā] Cave Inscription No. 2 records the dedication of a cave to Śambhu Śivas by his minister of peace and war, named Śāba-Virasena of Pātaliputra, who accompanied his master Chandragupta when the latter was out in his military expedition to 'conquer the earth' [*Kṛtsna-prithuśayārthaṇa*]. The inscription is unfortunately undated and does not provide us with the clue to the actual date of the invasion. But it indicates the route of the march. The dedication of the Cave by Chandragupta's minister of war, Śāba-Virasena was evidently an act of worship to the great god Śiva for his blessing for victory in the impending battle. A clue to the date of the battle as well as the event of victory is, however, provided by the silver coins of Chandragupta II. It is only the Śaka rulers of India, we know, who issued silver coins. None of the Indian rulers ever issued silver coins before Chandragupta II who probably coined them in imitation of the Śakas after he had destroyed their power and annexed their territories. The latest issue of silver coins of the last Śaka King Rudrasimha III who was probably the antagonist defeated by Chandragupta is dated 300 [-] 10 Śaka era = 388 A.D.¹, and the date given on the silver coins of Chandragupta II

¹ Rapson, Catalogue, p. 194 f., No. 907.

is 90 [+] X, G.E. which Allan thinks is equivalent to [319 + 90-10] 399 A.D.¹ So the date of the conquest of the Western Satraps and the issue of the coins by Chandragupta must be between 388 and 399 A.D. Dr. Vincent Smith assumes A.D. 395 as a mean date for the conquest of the Western Satraps, which, as the above consideration will show, is not far wide of the mark.

It is characteristic of the Gupta rulers to make wise political marriages, as part of their foreign policy. The Lichchhavi marriage of Chandragupta I had strengthened his position in Bihar.

Chandragupta II following in the footsteps of his grandfather made two important matrimonial alliances. He himself married Kuberanāgā, a princess of the Nāga lineage, and had by her a daughter named Piabhbāvatī [Ep. Ind. XV, p. 41 ff p. 416].² Although the Nāgas were defeated by Samudragupta, they still retained some power in Central India with Padmāvatī as its Capital. He won over the friendship of this old royal dynasty by this wise marriage. Next, he married his daughter Piabhbāvatīguptā to the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena II [Ib.]. We have seen [Supra p. 240 f.] that in the time of Samudragupta the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I [Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription], who ruled over Bundelkhand and Central and Western Deccan, was the most powerful among the rulers of Northern India to assume leadership of the confederacy against the imperial Guptas. The Vākāṭakas were no doubt humbled by Samudragupta and deprived of much of their territory. But they still retained considerable power in the Central Deccan when Rudrasena II was ruling and Chandragupta preferred alliance to war to win his friendship. Dr. Vincent Smith rightly remarked that "the Vākāṭaka Māhārāja occupied a geographical position in which he could be of much service to the northern invader of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarat and Sauvāshṭri [JRAS, 1914, p. 324].

¹ Allan, Cat. p. XXXVIII f.

² Poona Copper-Plate Inscription of Piabhbāvatīguptā.

The alliance was also helpful in respect of the security of the newly acquired Śaka territory of Saurāshṭra from the attack of the Vākātakas, its immediate south-eastern neighbours.

The conquest of the Śaka territories, in the fertile regions of Western Mālwā [Ujjain], Gujārāt and Saurāshṭra made the Gupta empire enormously rich and brought it into direct contact with the western sea-board and its ports resulting in the expansion of its sea-borne trade. Trade with foreign countries inevitably led to the exchange of cultural ideas with them.

Northern India under the Gupta rule being thus directly connected with Western India, inland trade and traffic also increased, as mercantile goods could now pass easily from north to west and vice versa without having to pay the vexatious ferries at the frontiers of intervening states. Ujjain was at that time a most important city for trade and traffic, where roads converged from different directions linking it also with the western sea-ports. Chandra-gupta made Ujjain his second capital and made also a religious and cultural centre of India. Probably he assumed the title of Vikramāditya after this conquest.

An outstanding event in the reign of Chandra-gupta II was the visit to India of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. Having travelled through the Gobi desert and the mountainous tracts of Khotan, the Pāmirs, Swāt, and Gandhāra, and enduring in the way great hardships and dangers, reached Peshāwar and visited almost all the then known places of Buddhist sanctity. From Peshāwar he entered the Punjab and moved towards south-east, visiting places like Mathurā, Saṁkāśya, Kanauj, Kauśāmbī, Kāśī, Kuśinārā, Śrāvasti, Kapilavastu, Pāṭaliputra, Nālandā, etc. He then proceeded to Tāmralipti [Tamluk, in the Midnapur district] from which place he returned home by sea visiting on his homeward journey Ceylon and Java. He set out from his home in 399 A.D. and returned home in 414 A.D. Thus his itinerary lasted 15 years, of which he actually spent in India 7 years [405-411]. During this long sojourn in India Fa-hien noticed and recorded in his

diary principally the places of Buddhist sanctity with which he was primarily interested. Those records with their minute details of the route and location and their past history and present condition, amplified two centuries later by a more elaborate account left of those and other places by the next Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang [7th century A.D.], have been of immense service to modern archaeologists to identify those sites for excavation. The pilgrim, however, incidentally recorded here and there certain facts regarding the life and general condition of the people which may be pieced together to get an idea of the state of the country as obtained in his time.

Regarding Pāṭaliputra where he stayed for three years learning Sanskrit, his records are both useful and interesting, showing that even in the fifth century A.D. this ancient city retained its splen-

Pataliputra dou as an imperial capital and its importance as a great centre of learning and religion. He says that there existed in the city two large and beautiful monasteries one of the Hinayāna faith, and the other of the Mahāyāna. Each was tenanted by six or seven thousand learned monks who taught thousands of students who flocked to them from all parts of India. The splendour of the royal palace built by Asoka and which evidently still remained intact, amazed him. The pilgrim says: "The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed and which piled up the stones and reared the walls and gates, executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work in a way which no human being of the world could accomplish."¹ He found the city prosperous and its residents endowed with public spirit, so much so, that they "vied with one another in the practice and benevolences." He says that the heads of the Vaiśya families established houses for dispensing charity and medicine. He found in the city excellent hospitals, endowed by nobles and householders, in which the poor patients received free food and treatment. The pilgrim also wit-

¹ Fa-hien's Travels trans. Legge, Ch. XXVII.

nessed a grand procession of richly decorated images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas which the people of the city organised every year on the eighth day of the second month. These were no less than twenty cars, constructed on the same pattern but differently and beautifully painted, on which these figures were carried.

We get an idea of the state of society and religion in the middle kingdom [Madhyadeśa, ruled by Chandragupta II] from the pilgrim's incidental records. He says that the people were numerous and happy. The bulk of the people were vegetarian and followed the principle of *Abhimsā* [non-injury to animals]. They kept no

Society and Religion

wineshops in their market-places or pigs and fowls in their homes. They did not eat meat, onions or garlic, nor drank wine. The Chandālas, who were social outcastes, were the only people who hunted and ate flesh, etc. He stated that the cowrie shells were 'the only articles used in buying and selling.' This statement is apparently wrong. It probably refers to small transactions which the pilgrim had occasions to make. He does not seem to have met with gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency we know from references to donations of 'dinaras' and "Suvarṇas" in the inscriptions [Allan]. That the people in general had no want and little criminal tendency is testified to by the pilgrim when he says that he was 'never molested on the highways.' Rest-houses on the highways provided ample and comfortable accommodations. The climate was temperate and free from frost and snow.

Fa-hien was a Buddhist monk and pilgrim and he came to India with the holy purpose of visiting the Buddhist shrines and collecting Buddhist manuscripts. He therefore speaks more enthusiastically of Buddhism than of other faiths. Buddhism, according to him, was in a 'flourishing condition' in the Punjab, Bengal and Mathurā. In the last place the pilgrim saw as many as twenty establishments. Buddhist law of life—abstinence from killing and eating of flesh was generally observed. Hinayānism and Mahāyānism flourished side by side. Yet it was clear that Buddhism was

in decaying state in Middle India where in each of its principal towns the pilgrim saw just one or two monasteries only, and sometimes even more. That Brāhmaṇism prevailed here is clear from the fact that its ruler was a Vaishnava as the evidence of his coins and inscriptions show. But perfect toleration was observed by the Gupta ruler and the 'Brāhmaṇ heretics' and Buddhists lived together in the best of relations. Innumerable Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Gupta period which still exist and the epigraphic records of gifts to the Buddhist community even by government officials [C.I.I. vol. III no. 5] bear testimony to this fact.

We gather from Fa-hien an idea of the nature of the government of Chandragupta II, although he does not mention his name. People lived happily under a sensible government which followed

the policy of 'let alone' [*Laissez faire*]. He
The Character of was happy to find that 'the people had not to
Gupta Govern- register their households or to attend any magis-
ment, trates or rulers.' The character of the govern-
ment was extremely mild and non-interfering in refreshing con-
trast to the paternal type of the Mauryan administration. If the
people wanted to go they went, if they wanted to stay they stayed
on without being required to secure pass-ports or register their
names. The king's government went on with the fewest and
mildest of laws. Most crimes were punished only by fines varying
in amounts according to the gravity of the offence. Capital
punishment was unknown. Mutilation was the highest punish-
ment given for repeated rebellions. Revenue was generally derived
from crown lands Royal officers being regularly paid with fixed
and handsome salaries did not oppress the people with extra
exactions.

Besides the above account given by Fa-hien, the Basārh Seals¹
Administrative and other inscriptions inform us of the machi-
Machinery. nery of government which existed in the time
of Chandragupta II and his successors.

¹ Ancient Vaiśālī. The site was excavated by Mr. Bloch who submitted his report in 1903 [Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. 1903-04, pp. 101-20].

The King was at the head of the government and was assisted by ministers [*Mantrins*] whose office was often hereditary [*Anvaya-prapta-Sāebinya*.¹ Some of them, e.g., the minister of war and peace [*Sāndhi Vigrahika*] accompanied the sovereign to the battle-field [Ib.]. Some of them combined many offices or held different offices at different times. For example, Harrishena is designated in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta as his '*Sāndhi-Vigrahika*' [Minister of war and peace], '*Kumārāmātya*' [of the status of a Kumāra or a junior minister whose father is alive], '*Mahādandanāyaka*'] [Chief of the police with power of judging criminal cases].

The empire was divided into a number of provinces designated as *Bhuktis* or *Desas* which were placed under governors called

Uparikas-Mahārājas or *Goptris* appointed by the sovereign. They were often princes of the

royal blood. For example in the Basārh seals we find Govindagupta, a son of Chandragupta II, as the Governor of Tirabhukti [Tīthut, Bihar].² We get from the inscriptions the names of the following provinces, e.g. Pundravardhanabhukti, Tirabhukti, Nagarbhukti, Śravasti-bhukti and Ahicchhatrabhukti, Sukuladeśa and Sutāshṭra.

Each province [Bhukti or desa] was subdivided into *Vishayas* or *Pradesas*. A Vishaya was equivalent to a modern district and its officer was called *Vishayapati* with his head quarters known

as *Adbishtāna*. The office of the *Vishayapati* was held by imperial officials like *Kumārāmātyas* [Damodarpuri Plates] and feudatory *Mahārājas*

[Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Buddha Gupta]. The *Vishayapatis* were generally recruited by, and acted under, the *Uparikas* or Governors of provinces. For instance, in the Dāmodarpur-plates³ the *Vishayapati* of Koṇīvaṭha was

¹ Udayagiri Cave Ins. No. 2 of Śāba [C.I.I. III, No. 6].

² Arch. Surv. Ind. A. R. 1903-04, pp. 102, 107.

³ Ep. Ind. XV, pp. 130, 133.

appointed [*tanniyuktaka*] by the Uparika of Pundravardhana [Rājshāhi-Dinājpur Divisions, Bengal]. There are references to similar Vishayapatis of Aīśwīra and Tripuri.¹ But it appears that some Vishayapatis were also appointed by and acted directly under the Emperor as the Indo-Gupta Copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta [Ind. Ant. XVIII, p. 219] suggests. Here, Saīvanāga, the Vishayapati of Antarvedī, is described as appointed [*attpāda-parigribhīta*] by the Emperor. Antarvedī is known in tradition as the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Hārdwāh. This Do-ab region forms most part of the present Western U. P. Indo-Gupta Bulandshahī Dist., the find-spot of this record, evidently the seat of the District Administration, actually lies in this Antarvedī [Do-ab]. Probably, Antarvedī was within the home province of the empire, directly governed by the Emperor himself without the help of an Uparika. The head-quarters where the office [adhikarana] of a Vishaya-pati was located, was called adhishthāna. An interesting side-light is thrown on the nature of the district administration by the Dāmodarpur plates where a number of functionaries are mentioned as helping the vishaya-pati in his work. They are *Nagara-Sreshṭhī* [the chief banker of the city or President of the city-guild], *Sāsthavāha* [the chief merchant of the city, or President of merchant-guild], *Prathama-knīka* [the chief artisan or the President of the artisan guild], [*Prathama-Kāyashī* [the chief of the writer class], *Pustapāla* [keeper of records] and others. It is possible that they formed a sort of Municipal or District Board [Parishad]² with the chief of the writer class acting as its secretary to assist in the work of the district and town. Indeed, the function of the record-keeper is specifically mentioned as that of determining the title to the land and submitting the report to the government before any sale of it could be sanctioned [Ib.]

¹ Cf. PHAI, 3rd. ed. p. 381.

² Dr. Bloch has found a seal at Basārh belonging to the Parishad of Udānakūpa. The Bilsad Inscription [C.I.I III, 43 f] refers to a [Parishad].

Every Vishaya or District was sub-divided into a number of *grāmas* or villages, being the lowest units of administration.

Village Adminis-
tration
The Headman of the village was called *grāmika* who carried on the village administration and maintained peace and order in the village with the help of *pañchamaṇḍalu* or *pañchāyat* consisting of the *grāma-vṛiddhas* [the village elders].¹

There is no doubt that the system of the government was bureaucratic, being manned by officers from the Emperor downwards. The Basāh seals and other inscriptions Crown officials provide us with the names of various officials of the imperial government, such as the *Upātīka* [Governor], the *Sāndhivigrahika* [*Supra*], *Kumārāmātya* [*Supra*], the *Mahādanḍanāyaka* [*Supra*], the *Vinayasthiti-sthāpaka* [the Censor], *Mahā-pratihārī* [Chamberlain], and the *Bhaṭṭāśvapati* [Chief of the army and cavalry] and of the offices like *Danda-pāśādhikarana* [office of the chief of Police], *Balādhikarana* [office of the Army Chief], *Rāṇa-bhāṇḍāgāīādhikarana* [office of the Chief Treasurer of the war-finance], *Tīra-bhukti-Upātīka-adhikarana* [office of the Governor of Tīrthut], and *Vaiśālyādhiṣṭhitādhikarana* [office of the District headquarters of Vaiśālī]. The recruitment of government officials was made evidently on the basis of fitness and no sectarian bias influenced the selection. For instance, Chandragupta who was a devout Vaishnava [*Paramabhāgavata*], his trusted general Āmrakārdava 'who had won several battles' was a Buddhist,² and his minister of peace and war Śāba-Vitasena was a Śārva.³

Besides the territories directly governed by the officials of the crown, there were vassal states and republics, owing allegiance to the Emperor, but enjoying internal autonomy.⁴

¹ C.I.I. III, p. 31f.

² C.I.I., III, p. 31.

³ Ib. p. 25.

⁴ Cf. Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta and other epigraphs.

In the matter of coinage Chandragupta II introduced considerable originality of Type. In his reign the throned goddess is replaced by purely Indian type of a goddess seated on a lotus. The Coach Type and the Umbrella Type are original. He also introduced the Horseman Type which became so popular with his successors, also the Lion Type. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of silver currency which was considerably extended by his successors Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. He was also the first Gupta ruler to introduce silver coins.

Chandragupta II is known by at least two other names 'Devavāraja' in the Sāñchi Stone Inscription [C.I.I. III, p. 31 f]. and 'Devagupta' in the Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II [C.I.I., III, p. 236ff]. If the

Names and Titles Meharauli [near Delhi] Pillar Inscription refers to the third Gupta Emperor, then he is also known simply as 'Chandra' [See Appendix IV] He bore several titles. He probably bore the title of Vikramāditya after his conquest of the Śakas. His coins bear the title of Vikramānka, Narendra-Chandra, Simha-Vikrama, Simha-Chandra, etc. His inscriptions describe him as Parama-bhāgavata Mahārājādhīrāja Śī Bhaṭṭāraka. He is known in tradition as Vikramāditya Śākā of Ujjain.

He left at least two sons—Kumāragupta I who succeeded him as Emperor, and Govindagupta who was governor of

Family Tūabhukti [Bihar], both born of his first queen Dhruvadevi or Dhruvasvāminī. Dhruvadevi is the name which we find in the inscriptions and tradition, whereas the name Dhruvasvāminī occurs in a Basārh Seal as the mother of Govindagupta. A Vākātaka epigraph mentions the name of another of his wife—Kuberaṇagā, whose daughter was Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen of the Vākātaka ruler Rudrasena, and mother of Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena.¹

¹ Ep. Ind. XV, p. 41 ff; JASB. NS. XX, 58 ff.

[APPENDIX IV]

'CHANDRA' OF THE MEHARAULI PILLAR
INSCRIPTION

An inscription in an iron pillar in Mehrauli, a village about 9 miles south of Delhi, describes in pure Sanskrit verses written in Gupta characters of the 5th century A.D. the exploits of one 'Chandra,' regarding whose lineage no information has been given, but who is most probably to be identified with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. The inscription is undated and the tone of the Sloka 4 of the *prasasti* undoubtedly points to its posthumous character. The object of the epigraph was to commemorate the erection of the pillar [Vishṇudhvaja] on a hill called Vishnupada, probably identical with the Delhi ridge. The *prasasti* records that all those enemies who confederated [*Sameyāgutā*] and attacked him [Chandra] from Bengal were defeated, that he [Chandra] fought a successful war against the Vāhlkas, by getting across the seven mouths of the river Indus and that he enjoyed the sole sovereignty of the earth [*Ekađhirūja*] acquired by his prowess [*Svabhūjavijita*] which he ruled for a long time [*Sachirām*].

The identification of 'Chandra' of the inscription has been the subject of unending controversy among scholars. R. G. Basak [Hist. North-Eastern India, pp. 13-18], Fleet [C.I.I. III, Int. p. 12] and Alyangar [Studies in Gupta History, p. 24] identify Chandra with Chandragupta I. But Chandra's Vāhlika conquest would take Chandragupta I as far as Sindh. This seems to be an overestimate of the achievements of Chandragupta I. The Allahabad *Prasasti* of Samudragupta shows that his father's territory was confined to the Gangetic valley from Pātaliputra to Prayāga, and that the territories further north and west of Prayāga including the present Do-ab and possibly some portions of the Punjab were conquered by Samudragupta himself. Further, the boast of the sole sovereignty of the earth is not at all applicable to Chandragupta I's case. Pāñdita Haraprasad

Sāstri [Ep. Ind. XII, pp. 315-21; XIII, p. 133] and R. D. Banerji [Ib. XIV, pp. 367-71] identify him with the Chandravarman of the Śusunia Rock [near Rāniganj, Bengal] Inscription. But the identification is based on insufficient grounds and has been rightly rejected by scholars. The Chandravarman of the Susunia Rock Inscription is probably to be identified with the Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar. Inscription of Samudragupta who defeated him along with the other rulers of Aryavarta. Dr. Raychaudhuri's suggestion [PHAI, 4th ed. p. 449, n. 1.] is a mere conjecture. A recent suggestion based on conjecture and argued forcibly [Proc. I.H.C. 1943, pp. 127-29] is that the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar is the Chandiagupta Mauya and that the pillar was erected by Chandiagupta II Vikramāditya in honour of his ideal hero. But the subject of the prasasti was undoubtedly a Vaishnava and Chandragupta Mauya is never known to have been a Vaishnava. He is well-known to be a disciple of Chāṇakya of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical faith and indulged in hunting as a regular pastime, until he probably became a Jaina, if the tradition preserved in the Jaina literature is to be believed. Other scholars like Vincent Smith, Dandekar and D. C. Sarkar have identified him with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya.¹ The probability is that the Chandra of the Meharauli Inscription is Chandiagupta II Vikramāditya. The following facts may be considered in favour of his identification:

- [1] that the name of Chandragupta II also occurs as simply Chandra in his copper coins;
- [2] that he went on a digvijaya [Udaigiri, Cave Ins. 2] as is suggested in the Meharauli record.
- [3] that he was lord of an empire,
- [4] that the Delhi region formed part of his kingdom, and
- [5] that he was a Vaishnava.

The passage in which it is stated that 'he crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered Vāhlika [Balkh], should not offer any difficulty. The "seven mouths" of the Indus un-

¹ EHI; History of the Guptas; S. I. p. 275, n. 1.

doubtedly mean the rivets of the Punjab and Vāhlīka has been placed by Bhandākar on the Vipāśā [Beas] on the strength of a Rāmāyaṇa verse [II 68, 18-19] and Vishnupada hill is said to be in its vicinity [Vishṇupadāṁ prakramāñā Vipāśam Chāpi Śālimalim; Ib]. Thus says that the word Vāhlīka [Bactrian] was already in use in India for some of the semi-foreign peoples of the Indian North-West. [G.B.I., p. 125]. He further elaborates his thesis as follows : " Many of the peoples of the North-West had been immigrants from Iran or elsewhere, and some were not yet fully Indianised ; some North-Iranian names occur in the Alexander-story, some words are found in the Punjab and Indian writers classed all these semi-foreign peoples together as Vāhlīkas [Bactrians], a term which in a narrow sense meant the Bhallas west of the Jhelum [Ib. p. 169]. Thus the word Vāhlīka used here in the inscription may not necessarily mean the people of Bactria proper but some of those semi-foreign people who lived somewhere in the Punjab. This location is definitely settled by an epic reference. In the Mahābhārata [Ādi-parva] we find Śalya, king of the Madra country with its capital at Śākala [Sialkot] is called the Lord of the Vāhlīka and his sister Mādri is called Vāhlīki. The Madrādeśa was the region between the Chenab and the Beas. The tribes of the Vāhlīkas settled between those two rivers are believed to have migrated southwards to the Indus. It is in this region of the Indus that they were conquered by Chandragupta II who had to cross the 'seven mouths' of the Indus for this purpose. It may be that the pillar was originally erected on this Vishṇupada hill as recorded in the inscription and subsequently transferred by some energetic ruler of Delhi as Smith suggests [EHI, p. 401]. We have seen [*Supra*] that Firozshah removed two of Aśoka's pillars from Ambala and Meerut to Delhi. There being no doubt as to the posthumous character of the inscriptions, Dr. Salkai rightly suggests that " the pillar was probably set up by Chandragupta II at the end of his life and the record was engraved by Kumāragupta I, soon after his father's death."¹ If the identification of Chandra with Chandragupta II

¹ S. I., p. 277, n. 1.

is correct, as seems quite probable, two important facts can be deduced from the inscription:

[1] that Bengal the chronic seat of rebellion found in the long history of India, rebelled against Chandragupta II who suppressed it;

[2] Chandragupta II destroyed the remnants of the Śaka and the Kushāna power in the North-West which Samudragupta did only partially. According to Allan the 'Vāhlikas' was used in a general sense to signify a body of foreign invaders [Allan, p. XXXVI]

KUMĀRAGUPTA I [c. 414-455 A.D.]

Kumāragupta succeeded his father Chandragupta II. A large number of his dated inscriptions and coins enable us to fix his reign-period with more or less certainty. His earliest date His reign period on record [Bilsad Inscription] is G.E. 96=A.D 415. The latest date found on his silver coins is G.E. 136 = A.D. 455¹. We also know that the earliest recorded date of Kumāragupta's son and successor Skandagupta is 136 G.E. = A.D. 455 [Jūnāgad Rock Inscription]. Therefore, Kumāragupta's reign period definitely falls between 414 or 415 to 455 A.D.

The provenance of his inscriptions and the names of Governors found there give us an indication of the extent of territory ruled by him. They show that he was able to maintain the strength and unity of the empire. The variety and number of his coins—both gold and silver—point to the peace and prosperity of his reign, until about the end of his life when wars disturbed the peace as will be stated later. According to a Bāsārh seal his brother Govindagupta was Governor of Tirabhukti [Bihar] with Govindagupta Vaiśālī as its capital [*Supra*]. This office he probably held from the time of his father Chandragupta II. A Mandasor record of the Mālava year

¹ JASB, 1894, p. 135.

524 [= 468 A.D.] of Dattabhaṭṭa, son of Govindagupta's general Vāyurakṣita shows that he [Mahārāja Govīndagupta] was later appointed viceroy of Mālwā by Kumāragupta.¹ The Dāmodarpur

Plates of G.E. in years 124 and 128 show that Chiratadatta

his Governor of Pundravardhana [North Bengal] was Chiratadatta² The Tumbavana or Tumain [Gwalior State] inscription of the G.E. 116 informs us that Ghaṭotkaccha Gupta was Governor of the eastern part of Central India, when Kumāragupta was reigning.

The inscription refers to Chandragupta II who conquered the earth as far as the ocean, to his son Kumāragupta I and to Ghaṭotkacha Gupta 'who won by the prowess of his arms the good fame of his ancestors' [Ib.]. This clearly shows that he was a Gupta prince and probably a son of Kumāragupta. He may be identical with his namesake of the Basāñi seal [*Supra*], and the name found on the coin in the St. Petersburg collection which bears on the obverse beneath the king's arm the word 'Ghaṭī' and a marginal legend ending in Gupta [=tkacha gupta] legend 'Kramāditya'? [See, Allan, Cat. p. 149, Pl. XXIV, No. 3, Inv. no. LIV] If the legend has been rightly read, it is clear that Ghaṭotkachagupta assumed the title of Kramāditya during the short period of his independent rule, a little afterwards assumed by Skandagupta when evidently he received his first training as an administrator holding some office at Vaisālī in the court of his uncle Govindagupta as the Basāñi seal shows, before he became his father's viceroy of the eastern part of Central India. Dr. Sircar suggests [S.I. p. 299, n. 1] that he was probably one of the rivals who contended for the throne with Skandagupta. If it is true, he must have enjoyed a short span of independence during which period he was able to issue a very limited number of coins, only one of which has hitherto been traced. The Kālamāṇḍā [Faizabad Distt., U. P.] Inscription of G. E. 177 shows that his

¹ S. I., p. 298. n. 1.

² C.I.I., III, p. 46 f., p. 81 f.

Governor of Oudh was Prithvisena Kumārāmātya, who was also a Mahābalādhikīta [an Army General].

Kumāragupta's coins show that he performed the Aśvamedha Ceremony. His coins of the Aśvamedha type with the legend "Śiḥ Aśvamedha Mahendra" on the reverse prove it. Allan suggests that he assumed this title after performing the horse-sacrifice. His other titles found on his coins are Naarendra, Vikramānka, Vikramāditya, Simha Vṛktama, Simha Chandra, etc. But he is generally known as Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya.

The last years of Kumāragupta's reign were visited by a war with the Pushyamitras. The Bhitaṭṭi Stone Pillar Inscription

[C.I.I., III, p. 53 f.] informs us that Skandagupta defeated the Pushyamitras who had risen to great power and wealth [Samuditabala-Kośān-Pushyamitiāṁścha].

In this fight the crown-prince was reduced to great strait and had to spend nights lying on bare earth. Having ultimately conquered his enemies and restored [piatis-thāpya] the fallen fortunes of dynasty [Viplutām Vamśa-lakshmim] he returned to break the news to his weeping mother, his father having died meanwhile [pitāś divāṁ upete] 'as the victorious Krishna had done it to Devaki' [Ib.]. M. Divedau [ABRI., 1919, p. 99 II ff.] differs from Fleet's reading and suggests that the word 'Pushyamitiāṁścha' should be read as 'Yudhyamitiāṁścha' i.e., the amitras [enemies] engaged in war [Yudhi]. If this reading is correct it would mean that Skandagupta had to fight a civil war which took place after his father's death, but it appears from the inscription that his father was alive when he fought the Pushyamitras. Moreover, a people called the Pushyamitras is known from the Purāṇas [Vishnu Purāna IV, 24-17].

Kumāragupta I was a staunch Brāhmaṇist. He introduced the worship of a new god, Kārtikeya [Cf his coin of the peacock

type and the Bhitaṭṭi Stone Inscription], but Religious benefactions and toleration continued the worship of other gods like the Sun, Śiva, and Vishnu, to each of which the

epigraphs of his time record benefactions. He followed his ancestor's policy of toleration. For instance, there

are records of the setting up of the Buddha images [Cf. Man-kumar Inscription of G. E. 429] and benefactions to the Buddhist Sanghas [Cf. Sānchi Stone Inscription of G. E. 131].

SKANDAGUPTA KRAMĀDITYA

[C. 455-467 A.D.]

Skandagupta ascended the throne after his father's death and assumed the title of Kramāditya. His silver coins also bear the title of Vikramāditya. It is probable his accession was not wholly uncontested. We know from inscriptions that he had at least two other brothers. One was Ghaṭotkachagupta and the other Puragupta [Bhitari Seal Inscription].¹ The latter ascended the throne after Skandagupta's death. His mother was Anantadevī. We have seen that Ghaṭotkachagupta was his father's viceroy in Central India [*Sopra*, p. 264]. If the coin of the Petersburg collection is to be ascribed to him, he must have assumed sovereign power after his father's death and contested the imperial throne against his brother. The coin bears the legend 'Kramāditya' on the reverse with the name of Ghaṭotkacha on the obverse. This is the title which Skandagupta also bore. Probably Skandagupta assumed it after he had finally defeated his brother Ghaṭotkachagupta who temporarily bore this title. Ghaṭotkachagupta probably died during the lifetime of Skandagupta, but Puragupta survived him and later succeeded him, as Skandagupta died without any issue. The Bhitai seal which provides the name of Puragupta and his genealogy omits the name of Skandagupta. This glaring omission of the name of such a great king from the genealogical list by the grandson of Skandagupta's brother Puragupta shows that the relation between Puragupta and Skandagupta was none too cordial and this hostile feeling was shared by the princes

¹ Indian Antiquary, XIX; 1890, p. 225; JASB, Lvi, pt. I., p. 89.

of the Puragupta line. It suggests that there was a war of rivalry between the two brothers or half-brothers. It is probable that one or both the brothers of Skandagupta, contested the throne against him after his father's death. There is no doubt that Skandagupta, being the ablest among the sons was his father's favourite¹ and was put in command of the imperial army to fight the Pushyamitras. Line 12 of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription suggests that his father died when he was fighting the Pushyamitras and was away from the capital. His father's death and his absence from the capital gave his internal enemies, possibly his rival brother, the opportunity to rise against their father's nominee to the throne. Lines 13 and 14 of the inscription show that when he returned to the palace after his victories over the enemies he found his mother weeping and in distress. Her this condition might have been due to the scene of her husband's death, or the shock of internecine quarrel among the near kinsmen which possibly led to her imprisonment. The analogy of Devaki being approached by Krishna after his victory suggests her imprisonment, possibly by Puragupta, her step son. There is no doubt, however, that Skandagupta pardoned his defeated brothers, for he reports to his mother that he showed mercy to the vanquished enemies who were in distress [*Jiteshvārteshu kṛītvā dayām*]. This act of pardon should refer to his internal enemies, possibly his brothers and kinsmen, rather than to the Pushyamitras who did not deserve any consideration of this kind.

The last recorded date on Kumāragupta's silver coins is 455
Reign-period and that on Skandagupta's coins is 467 A.D.
These two dates being the fixed points of his
chronology represent the period of his reign.

The Bhitari Pillar Inscription refers to the Hūnas whom Skandagupta defeated in a sanguinary contest [*Hūnairyasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyām dbarā kampitā, bbīmāvarta karasya*]. These nomadic Central Asian tribes, of whom we shall hear more later,

¹ Cf. "Pitṛi parigata pāda padma-vaitī, prathitayaśāḥ, piithvipatiḥ sutoyām" etc. *Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription* of Skandagupta [C.I.I., III, p. 52 f.].

appeared for the first time on the Indian soil, through its north-western gate and attacked the Gupta Empire. It is possible that these Hūnas are referred to in the Junāgadh, Inscription of Skandagupta as 'mlechchhas.' In that case the battle with the Hūnas must have been fought somewhere about 36-38 C.E. the date given in the inscription.

The Junāgadh Inscription [C.I.I., III, p. 58 f.] tells us that Skandagupta's governor of Saurāshṭra was Pañnadatta and his son Chakrapālita was in charge of the city ^{The Province of} of Girnār. The famous Sudarśana Lake in Saurashtra again burst its banks. The embankments, as we have seen, were built by Chandragupta Māurya for the purpose of irrigation, improved by Aśoka and ^{Repair of the} Sundarśana Lake repaired by Rudradāman. This time Chakrapālita repaired the damages in about 456 A.D. and constructed a Vishnu temple in 458 A.D. to commemorate the event.

THE LATER GUPTA EMPERORS

PURAGUPTA

With the death of Skandagupta passed away the last of the great Gupta emperors. Skandagupta evidently left no son to succeed him. The Bhitari seal Inscription² reveals the name of Puragupta as a son of Kumāragupta and Anantadevī, and as one who succeeded his father to the throne. The inscription omits the name of Skandagupta for reasons discussed above [*Supra*, pp 355-56]. But we know that Skandagupta was the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I, and, therefore, Puragupta must have come to the throne after Skandagupta, the latter having left no son. The inscription also reveals the name of his son Narasimhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta II, who was the author of the inscription. The inscription does not give us any information about the exploits of Puragupta, if any at all.

¹ Also read as Pūrugupta,

Vide Nālandā Seal.

² JASB, 1889, pt. I. p 89.

Allan [Cat. p. 134 Pl. XXI, No. 23] describes a gold coin of Puragupta with legend "Pura" on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and "Śri Vikramāḥ" or Vīkramāditya on the reverse.¹ Allan identifies him with the king Vīkramāditya of Ajodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who came under the influence of the famous Buddhist philosopher and writer Vasubandhu and patronised Buddhism. If the identification is correct, Puragupta had his capital at Ajodhyā.

NARASIMHAGUPTA BĀLĀDITYA

Puragupta's son and successor was Narasimhagupta. His mother's name was Chandanadevi.² His coins show that he assumed the title of Bālāditya.³ But he is not to be identified with the Bālāditya, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, who defeated the Hūnas under Mihiukula, as has been done by some scholars. The father of Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya was Tathāgata and his son was Vajra, whereas according to the genealogical epigraph of the Bhittai Seal Narasimhagupta Bālāditya's father was Puragupta and his son was Kumāragupta II. Yuan Chwang's Bālāditya, the conqueror of Mihiukula, must be some one else. Several kings of Madhyadeśa bore the *virūpa* of Bālāditya. The Sārnāth Inscription of Piākāśāditya [C.I.I., III, p. 285] shows that two Bālādityas of his dynasty reigned. The Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarman [Ep. Ind. 1929] mentions the name of a Bālāditya.

KUMĀRAGUPTA II

Narasimha Bālāditya was succeeded to the throne by his son Kumāragupta and his chief queen Devī.⁴ According to the

¹The reading has, however, been challenged by Mr. Saras Kumar Sarasvati who reads "Budha" for "Pura" [Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 691 f.].

²Fleet reads Vatsadevi. Cf. N. P. Chakravarty [Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 77] who gives good reasons for correct reading of the name.

³Allan, Cat. p. 137 f.

⁴Fleet reads Mahālakshmi Devī. Cf. S.I. p. 322, n. 4.

Sārnāth Buddha Image Inscription of the Gupta year 154 [JRAS, 1914-15, XV. p. 124]. Kumāragupta was reigning in A.D. 473. Dr. Nalin Bhattachārji and Dr. R. G. Basak think that the Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription is different from the Kumāragupta of the Bhitari Seal. The former argues that Kumāragupta, father of Narasimha-gupta, reigned long after the fifth century A.D. [Dacca Review, May and June 1920]. This view of Dr. Bhattachārji was inevitable in view of his theory that Narasimha Bālāditya is identical with the conqueror of Mihirakula—a theory which, as we have seen [*Supra*] is of doubtful value. The date of Sārnāth inscription shows that Kumāragupta's reign began at least from 473 A.D., and the earliest recorded date of his successor Budhagupta found in another Buddha image at Sārnāth—[JRAS, 1914-15, pp. 124-25] shows that it ended on or before GE. 157 = 476 A.D. Kumāragupta was a devout Vaishṇava. The Sārnāth inscription describes him as '*parama bhāgavata*', a title used by the Vaishṇavas. The image of Garuda in his Bhitari seal also proves his Vaishṇava faith. The Sun temple at Daśapura [Mandsor] of the guild silk-weavers of the city, which was originally constructed in the reign of Kumāragupta I in the Mālava c. 493 = 436-37 A.D. was repaired in his reign in Mālava year 529 = 472-73 A.D. [C.I.I., III, p. 81 ff.].

BUDHAGUPTA

The next Gupta ruler who came to the throne after Kumāragupta II is Budhagupta. His name and date is found on another Buddha image inscription at Sārnāth [ASAR, 1914-15, pp. 124-25]. The inscription is dated GE. 157 = 476 A.D., when he was on the throne. This shows that the total reign-period of the three previous Gupta rulers mentioned in the Bhitari seal inscription was only 7 or 8 years. The relation between Budhagupta and his predecessor on the throne Kumāragupta is not known. It may be he was the youngest son of Kumāragupta I and as such a cousin of Kumāragupta II. The reason for this surmise is that he is mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the son of Śakrāditya. 'Śakra' is the

sanskrit equivalent of 'Mahendra,' and the only predecessor of Budhagupta who had that title was Kumāragupta I who bore the epithet Mahendrāditya [= Śakiāditya]. A large number of dated epigraphs and coins and their provenance show that he had a comparatively long period of reign [C. 476-495 A.D.], and ruled over an extensive territory which extended from Bengal to Central India including the U. P. The Dāmodara-purī [Dinajpur, N. Bengal] Copper-Plate inscription, [Ep. Ind. XV, p. 135 f.] shows that Budhagupta's viceroy [Upasika-Mahārāja] of Pundravardhana [North Bengal] was Brahmadatta. The Sārnāth Inscription [Ib.] proves his sovereignty over Kāśī. The Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of GE. 165 = A.D. 484 [C.I.I., III, p. 89 f.] proves his sovereignty over the Central Provinces in that year. The Airikina [Eran] Vishaya was ruled by his feudatory. His territories in the eastern part of Central India between the Kālinādī and the Narmadā were governed by a mahārāja Suraśmi Chandra. The Eran Boar Inscription of Totamāṇa and Dhanyavishnu, younger brother of Mātūrvishnu shows the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūnas during the reign of his successor Bhānugupta [C.I.I. III, p. 159 f.] He continued the types of silver coinage of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, and their dates show that he reigned up to A.D. 495.

SUCCESSORS OF BUDHAGUPTA

The Eran Inscription of A.D. 510 [C.I.I. III, p. 92 f.] shows that while *Bhānugupta* was reigning, his general Goparāja died fighting. The Eran Stone Boar Inscription of the year of Totamāṇa's reign shows that the Hūna king was the sovereign of Eran and Dhanyavishnu was his vassal, as his brother Mātūrvishnu had been the vassal of Budhagupta [C.I.I., III, p. 89]. From this it is reasonable to suppose that Goparāja died fighting the Hūnas in 510 A.D., in which year Bhānugupta lost Eran to the Hūnas. The relationship between Budhagupta and Bhānu-

gupta is not known. A seal and coin name *Vishnugupta* was probably a direct successor of Kumāragupta II or III.

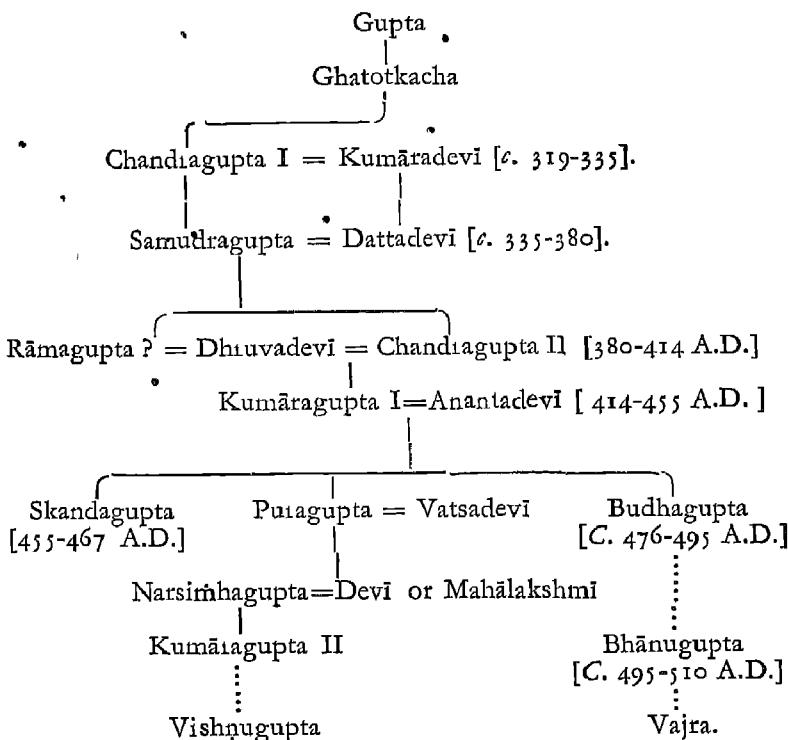
The Gunaighar [Tippaia Distt., S.E. Bengal] Copper-plate inscription of *Vainyagupta* shows that another Gupta ruler was reigning in Bengal about the year 507 A.D.¹ It is not impossible that when Bhānugupta was ruling the western and Central part of India representing the line of Pūragupta, Bhānugupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire. Vainyagupta's relation with either Bhānugupta or Budhagupta is also unknown. He is described in the Gunaighar plate as possessing a navy, which guarded his uparian territories in the South-East Bengal. He has been called in the inscription a "Mahārāja." But this does not prove that Vainya was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as "Mahārājādhīrāja." His dominion possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihar. He was a devotee of Śiva [ib.], but retained in his coinage the family symbol of 'Garudadhvaja' which is indication of Vaishnavism.

Yuan Chwang mentions a Gupta ruler, *Vajra*, and calls him the son of Bālāditya whose father was Tathāgatagupta. He further says that Bālāditya defeated Mihirakula [Supra]. We do not know who Tathāgatagupta really is. Dr. Raychaudhuri thinks that Bālāditya was probably a *virūpa* of Bhānugupta whose general Goparāja died fighting a famous battle in 510 A.D.² There is no doubt, however, that Bhānugupta [Bālāditya] was a contemporary of Mihirakula and his son Vajra succeeded him, after his death. Nothing more is known about Vajra. He is probably the last king of the imperial Gupta line.

A genealogical tree of the imperial Gupta rulers is given below as constructed from genealogical epigraphs. They have been mentioned according to the chronological order. The sign [:] does not show any relationship.

¹ IHQ, VI, p. 45 ff;

² PHAI, pp. 401—02.



End

THE GUPTA PERIOD : A GOLDEN AGE.

With the fall of the Gupta empire ended a glorious chapter of Hindu rule. The Guptas founded a rich and prosperous empire. The good government which the first two great Emperors of the dynasty, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, had established, and the consequent peace and order which prevailed during their long rule worked as congenial soil for the growth of the finer aspects of civilisation, e.g., science, religion, art and literature which found a further impetus by the rule and a perfected machinery of administration. The enlightened character of government guaranteed perfect freedom of religion and mode of life, as well as the Emperor's personal interest in ungrudging patronage of those things. It is no wonder,

therefore, that the Gupta age is known as the golden age of the Hindu rule and has been rightly compared by many writers to the Age of Pericles of Greece and the Elizabethan Age of England.

RELIGION : REVIVAL OF BRAHMANISM

In the matter of religion, the Gupta Emperors were Brāhmaṇists with special predilection for the worship of Viṣhṇu. Consequently Brāhmaṇism was revived under royal patronage. The epigraphs and coins tell of other gods and goddesses worshipped, e.g., Gadādhara, Janārdana, Śiva, Kārtikeya and Sūrya, Lakshmi, Duīgā, Pārvatī, etc. Revival of Brāhmaṇism naturally brought back to life sacrifices, private or public, and we hear in the epigraphs the performance of such sacrifices as Aśvamedha, Vājpeya, Agniṣṭoma, etc., etc.

Withal their personal adherence to Brāhmaṇism, the Gupta rulers showed exemplary toleration to other

Tolerant: forms of faith, e.g., Buddhism and Jainism.
Buddhism and Jainism Their subjects enjoyed full freedom of conscience.

Consequently Buddhism and Jainism also flourished side by side with Brāhmaṇism. Private and royal gifts to Buddhist monasteries and Jaina temples and installations of the statues of the Buddha and Tīrthaṅkaras, are on record. Āmṛakārdava, a general of Chandragupta II was a Buddhist and he is recorded to have made a gift of money to the Buddhist Vihāra of Kākanādabotā which was the old name of the Sāñchī region [C.I.I., III, p. 31 f.] A large number of Gupta Buddha and Bodhisattva images discovered in different parts of India, especially in the sites of Sārnāth, Mathurā and Nālandā, testify to the religious freedom enjoyed by the Buddhists under Gupta rule. The great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā was founded according to the Buddhist traditions by Śakrāditya [Kumāra-gupta I] in the fifth century A.D. and additional buildings and grants were made by Budhagupta, Bālāditya and other Gupta rulers. Withal this, there is no doubt that Buddhism lost its old

vitality and showed signs of decline. Fa-hien's statement that there was no visible sign of decline must be taken with a grain of salt. This decline was inevitable chiefly for three reasons: [1] lack of royal patronage, [2] corruption which just started entering the Buddhist Sanghas, especially of the Mahayānists,¹ and [3] absorption of the Buddhist pantheon in the mighty fold of Brāhmaṇism which included even Buddha himself as one of its avatāras [incarnations]. . .

The revival of sacrificial worships with their attendant constructions of altars or *Vedis* of different shapes and *Yātras* led to the development of Geometry. The Science finding of auspicious moments for sacrifices, etc., led to the assiduous study of the heavenly planets and their conjunctions. This naturally developed into the science of Astronomy and Mathematics. As a matter of fact the great astronomer Ārya-bhatta [born in C. 476 A.D.] and the great astrologer Varāhamihira [505-87 A.D.] flourished in this age and made notable contributions to these branches of scientific study.

The Gupta monarchs, themselves highly cultured, liberally patronised literature and art. Samudragupta has been described in the Allahabad inscription as a gifted poet Literature and musician. Naturally a number of intellectual celebrities flourished in this favourable atmosphere. Tradition associates the nine gems [navā-tatna] with the Vikramāditya of Ujjain. There is no doubt that in the Gupta court gathered a coterie of which the shining light was the famous Kālidāsa² who wrote a number of

¹ For details see *sūpti*, Ch. IV.

² Distinguished savants have by their labious researches pulled the date of Kālidāsa out of the realm of doubts and controversy. Macdonell [History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 323-25]; A.B. Keith [Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 31-32 and JRAS, 1909]; R.G. Bhandarkar [JBRAS, XX], D.R. Bhandarkar [Annals of Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-27, Vol. VIII, pt. X]; V. Smith [EHI, 3rd, ed. p. 304, n.] all argue for Kālidāsa to be in the Gupta period. However, Mr. K. Chattpadhyaya

such excellent dramas like the *Śākuntalā*, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvāsi*, epics like the *Raghuvamśa*, and lyric poetry like the *Ritu-Sambhāra* and the *Meğhadūta*. Hauśeṇa was a great poet as the language and style of his pāśasti on Samudragupta in the Allahabad Pillar shows. Another poet Vatsabhattī was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I and II [C.I.I. III, p. 81 ff.]. Virasēna Śāba of Pāṭaliputri, a high official and member of the Court of Chandragupta II is described as a great grammarian, politician and poet [Ib. p. 35]. It is possible that Subandhu, the reputed author of the *Vāsavadattā*, flourished in the Gupta period. He was certainly a predecessor of Bāṇabhaṭṭa [700 A.D.] who mentions his book in the Kādambālli. "The well-known Buddhist writers, Asaṅga, the author of the *Yogāchārabhūmiśāstra*, the *Mahāyāna Samparigraha* [translated in Chinese by Paramārtha] and other similar works and his brother Āchārya Vasubandhu, who wrote several books on Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy, e.g., *Mahāyāna Sūtrālnākāra Tīkā*, *Madhyāntavibhāga bhāṣya* etc. and also on Hinayāna philosophy, e.g. *Abhidharma Kośa*, etc. and Dīghanāga, the author of the *Pramāṇa Samscēchaya* etc. were the most distinguished among the Buddhist writers of the age. Parmārtha [499-560 A. D.] was another Buddhist saint and scholar who also wrote a biography of Vasubandhu, shortly after the latter's death. According to most scholars Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākshasa*, and Amarāśintha, the author of the *Amarakosha* belonged to the Gupta Age. Several *Purāṇas* received their final recension and several *Smṛitis*, and commentaries on the *Sūtras* were composed in this period. Writers on scientific subjects, e.g. Āryabhaṭṭa, Varāhamihira have already been noticed.

Up to the time of the Guptas, epigraphs are generally found written in prākrits. But with the revival of Brāhmaṇism the use and influence of Sanskrit also revived with the result that in the official and private epigraphs

[Allahabad University Studies II, 1926, pp. 79-170] argues for the first century B.C. and Mr. T. J. Kedar [Nagpur University Journal, No. 5, Dec. 1939] places him in the Śunga period.

as well as in coin legends Sanskrit replaced prākṛit. Sanskrit instead of Pāli became also the vehicle of expression of even Buddhist writers.

In the domain of fine arts, the Gupta period reached a high level of excellence. Music received a liberal share of royal patronage, especially of Samudragupta who was Art and Architecture himself a skilful musician. The allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting flourished equally under the patronage of the Gupta rulers. The sculpture of the Gupta age reveals exquisite beauty of execution and a high degree of skill possessed by its workmen. A large number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Gupta period have been discovered in the different excavated sites of India and in the largest number in Sārnāth. A study of these figures shows that the indigenous art of image making of men and deities reached its highest water-mark surpassing the Kushāṇa school of art as well as the partly exotic art of Gandhāra. The Gupta images in different attitudes [*Mudrās*] reveal a more spiritual calmness of face and eyes than is found for example in their Kushāṇa and Gandhāra counterparts. The standing Bodhisattva and other images show a new development of diaphanic folds of garment round their proportionate, symmetrical bodies expressive of a higher taste. Unfortunately few Gupta buildings have survived the destruction carried on by the Hūnas and Muslim invaders, but the few that exist testify to the fact that the Gupta architecture and sculpture attained an equally high excellence. The stone temple of Devagarh in the Jhansi district, and the brick temple of Bhitargaon near Cawnpore with their exquisite carvings on the panels of the walls are fine examples of Gupta architecture and sculpture. The Gupta age, as already noticed [p. 275], saw the revival of Brāhmaṇism which found full expression in the architectural activity of the period which produced Brāhmaṇic temples in large numbers. Among those which survived the following are well-known: (1) The Daśavatāra temple at Devagarh, [2] the temple at Bhitargaon, [3] Vishṇu temple at Tigawa Jubbulpore Dist.], (4) Śiva temple

at Bhumara [Nāgod State], (5, 6) two Buddhist shrines at Sāñchi and Buddha Gayā, (7) the Śiva temple at Khoh [Nāgod state] containing a beautiful Ekamukhi Liṅga, (8) a beautiful Pārvatī temple at Nachna-Kuthaia [Ajayagash State], and (9) a temple in a ruined state but of great artistic merit at Dah Patbatia on the banks of the Brahmaputra [Dairang Dist, Assam]. During this period three of the finest caves in Ajantā Nos. XVI, & XIX, were constructed. The beautiful frescoe paintings in the Ajantā Caves are evidence of the depth of human insight and high technical skill in wall painting. The Gupta coins in addition to their high bullion value possess considerable artistic merit. The noble iron pillar at Delhi and several huge copper statues of the Buddha discovered at Nālandā testify to the marvellous skill in the art of metallurgy attained in the Gupta period.

CHAPTER XI

THE VAKATAKAS

While the Imperial Guptas were supreme in the Gangetic valley, a powerful dynasty, that of the Vākāṭakas ruled contemporaneously with the Guptas the whole of the Central Provinces, Berar and Northern Deccan. The Vākāṭakas played an equally glorious part in the South as the Guptas did in the North. Prof. Dubieuil truly remarks : " Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century the most glorious, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that had the greatest civilisation of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākāṭakas."¹

Even the name of such a powerful dynasty was unknown to us till 1836, when a copper-plate grant in the possession of a Gond Malguzai of Seoni (C. P. and Berar) was published for the first time². The founder of this dynasty Vindhyaśakti was indeed mentioned in the Purāṇas, but not as a ruler of the Vākāṭakas, but of a race called the Kolikilas³. The Vishnu Purāṇa states that the Kailakila kings were Yavanas⁴. Owing to this corrupt reading and wrong construction Vindhyaśakti was believed to have belonged to the Yavana or Greek race. Even the well-known antiquarian, Dr. Bhau Daji, fell into this error. While editing the Ajantā cave (No. XVI) inscription he said that " the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as the execution of mos-

¹ J. Dubieuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 71.

² A.B.N.U., H.S. October, 1946, No. 1, p. 8.

³ The Vāyu and Brahmānda Purāṇas say :

ततः कोलिकिलभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति । समाः परणवति ज्ञात्वा
पृथिवीं तु समेष्यति ।

⁴ तेषुच्छुचेषु केलकिला यवना भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति ।

—Dynastics of the Kali Age, p. 48.

substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism."¹

On the other hand, the accepted view now is that the Vākāṭakas were Brāhmans by caste. The Ajanṭā (Cave XVI) record Family as edited by M. M. Mirashi, clearly states that

Vindhyāśakti, the founder of the dynasty, was a *dvija*.² Later Vākāṭaka records mention Vishṇuvṛiddha as the *gotra* of the Vākāṭakas.³ In the Bāsim Copper-plate (Ind. Hist. Quart. XVI, p. 182 ff) the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I has the family metonymic Hāritiputra and in another epigraph (C.I.I. III, p. 236 ff) a Vākāṭaka prince is named Gautamiputra, whose mother evidently belonged to the Gautama *gotra*. All these may be taken as further evidence in favour of their Brāhman caste. Although the word *dvija*, according to Sanskrit etymology, may mean also a Kshatriya or Vaiśya, it usually means a Brāhman and is generally used as such, and any doubt as to the Brāhman origin of the Vākāṭakas should no longer exist.

The late Dr. Jayaswal, who along with other eminent scholars like Princep, Buhle and Keilhorn did considerable work on the Vākāṭaka records states, (History of India, A.D. Origin.

150-350, p. 67-f) that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from a place named Vākāṭa which he identified with Bāgāṭ in the Orchha State. This claim of the northern origin of the dynasty has been contested by Prof. Mirashi. He argues in favour of the southern origin of the Vākāṭakas as follows : 'In support of his theory he (Dr. Jayaswal) tried to show that some of the coins discovered at Kosam near Allahabad and another place in North India were issued by Pravarasena I and other kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. But Jayaswal's readings are all doubtful and have not been accepted

¹ A.B.N.U. H.S. October 1946, p. 9. Cf. JBBRAS Vol. VII, p. 69 f.

² Mirashi, Vākāṭaka Inscription in the Cave XVI at Ajanṭā, Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14 p. 10.

³ A. B. N. U. H.S. No. I p. 9.

by other scholars.¹ As a matter of fact, the Vākātakas never issued any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom. There is thus no valid argument to support the theory that the Vākātakas were originally a northern dynasty. On the other hand there are several indications that they came to this province from the South. Their Sanskrit and Prākrit inscriptions contain several expressions which bear striking similarities to those used in Pallava grants.² Like the Śātakarnis, Kadambas and Chālukyas of the South, the early Vākātakas called themselves Hāritiputras, the descendants of Hārīti. They assumed the title of *Dharma-Mahārāja* which also is noticed in the records of only some southern dynasties such as the Pallavas and Kadambas. It seems certain, therefore, that the Vākātakas originally hailed from the South.”³

Vindhyaśakti I. The founder of the dynasty, according to the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI⁴ Vindhyaśakti who is described in the epigraph as *Vākātaka vānsaketu* and a *dvija*. The Purānas couple Vindhyaśakti, the head of the family, with his son Piṇḍila, and mention two Vākātaka capitals Purikā and Chanakā:

*Vindhyaśaktisutisubhāpi pravīro nāma vīryavān bhokshyate cha samāḥ
shashṭim Purikām Chanakām⁵ cha vai.*⁶

Prof. Mirashi suggests that Purikā was previously the capital of Nāga princes and from the description in the *Harivamśa* it seems to have been situated somewhere at the foot of the Rikshavat or Sātpuia mountain. It may have become the Vākātaka capital after the dynasty had advanced further to the north. The other

¹ Altekai—“Some Alleged Nāga and Vākātaka Coins” S.N.S.I. Vol. V. p. III.

² Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI, p. 149.

³ A. B. N. U. No. 1, p. 9.

⁴ Also known as the Ajantā Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena.

⁵ Slightly different reading suggested by Dr. Jayaswal and Prof. Mirashi. No. 1. A. B. N. U. No. 1, p. 10 n. 8.

⁶ Paigiter, DKA, p. 50.

city Chanakā may have been their original seat of government. It has not yet been identified but may have been situated somewhere in the Kanarese country where we come across similar names such as Channagiri and Channapetē.¹

The Ajantā inscription gives an uncommon praise to Vindhyaśakti. He is said to have increased his power by fighting great battles; while enraged (*kundha*) he has irresistible (*anivārya saktibh*). He was uncommon both in battle (*raju*) and in charity (*dāna*). His glory can be compared to that of Indra and Vishnu (*purandaropendrasama-prabhārāb*). He had a large cavalry by which he conquered his enemies.²

Pravarasena I. He was succeeded by his son, Pravarasena I, who is to be identified with the Pravīha of the Purāṇas. He is described in the Purāṇas as a valiant king. He was the real founder of the greatness of the Vākātakas as an imperial power. He seems to have extended his rule further to the north as far as the Narmadā. The Purāṇas attribute to him the performance of the Vājapeya sacrifices. The Bāsim copperplate inscription of Vindhyaśakti II³ informs us that he performed all the seven sacrifices including the Vājapeyas, e.g., *Agnishṭoma*, *Āptoryāma*, *Vājapeya*, *Jyotiṣṭoma*, *Bṛibaspatisava*, *Sādyasṭka* and *Aśvamedha* which last, he preformed four times. The performance of four Aśvamedhas proves that he must have led successful expeditions in different directions. He assumed the title of *Samṛ̥ṣṭ* evidently after the performance of the Aśvamedhas and Vājapcyas.⁴

Having extended his kingdom as far north as the Narmadā, Pravarasena I probably shifted his capital from Chanakā to a more centrally situated position like Purikā, situated somewhere at the foot of the Sātpurā mountain. (*Supta* p. 281). According to the Purāṇas, a Nāga family, probably an off-shoot of the ruling family of Vidisā (near Modern Bhilsa) ruled in Purikā for some genera-

¹ A.B.N.U.H. No. 1, p. 10.

² S.I. pp. 26-27.

³ Y.K. Deshpande and D. B. Mahajan, Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Calcutta, 1938, p. 349 ff.

⁴ ABNUHS, No. 1, p. 10.

tions. It appears, therefore, that Pravarasena must have deposed the Nāga ruler of Puṇikā and annexed his kingdom. He then strengthened his position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśīva king Bhavanāga. He married his son Gautamīputra to Bhavanāga's daughter. There is no doubt that this marriage alliance was a wise move on the part of Pravarasena I. The Bhāraśīvas were then a great power under their emperor Bhavanāga, whose coins were found at Padmāvatī (Central India), the well-known capital of the Nāgas. The Bhāraśīvas belonged to the Nāga race and were so called probably because they carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his *trisūla*) and believed that they owed their royal position to his grace. The Vākātaka records clearly show that they were staunch Śaivas. They performed as many as ten *Aśvamedhas* and were consecrated with the waters of the Ganges.¹ This shows that they cleared of the Kushākas some *tīrthas* of the Gangetic valley like Kāśī and Prayāga. That this alliance with the powerful Bhāraśīvas highly increased the power and prestige of the Vākātakas is clear from the fact that in all the records of Gautamīputra's descendants this alliance is mentioned with pride.²

According to the Purāṇas Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom became kings.³ Until recently, this statement of the Purāṇas appeared incredible; for there was no evidence of the Vākātaka family having branched off so clearly. The discovery of the Bāsim copperplate grant in 1939⁴ has shown that besides Gautamīputra mentioned in several Vākātaka grants, Pravarasena I had at least one more son named Sarvasena. The name also occurs in a revised reading of the Ajanṭā cave inscription by Prof. Mirashi.⁵ It seems therefore certain that the extensive

¹ Bhāgiathyāmalajala mūrdhābhishiktānām daśāśvamedhāvabhṛita snātānām (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, p. 85).

² I.B.N.U.H. No. 1. p. 12.

³ *tasya putrastu chattaro bhabishyanti narādbipāb* (Pargiter—D.K.A. p. 50).

⁴ Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Cal 1939, p. 349 ff.

⁵ Nagpur University Journal, Dec. 1940, No. 6. p. 41 ff Cf. S.I. p. 427.

empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his four sons after his death. The eldest branch continued to reign from the old capital Purikā. The second son Saivasena established himself at the city of Vatsagulma (Modern Bāsim) in the Akola District. The names of the remaining two sons are still unknown.

MAIN BRANCH

Gautamiputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I having died before his father, his son Rudrasena I succeeded his grandfather. Rudrasena I, being the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, had the powerful support of the Bhāśivas and erected a Śaiva temple at Deotek, 50 miles south of Nagpur, where an inscription ascribed to Rudrasena I has been found.¹ Rudrasena was a contemporary of the great emperor Samudragupta. Rudrasena I is probably to be identified with Rudradeva mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.² In line 21 of the inscription which relates to a second Āryāvarta war of Samudragupta against a new alignment of North Indian princes after his southern campaign, Rudrasena's name appears first, followed by eight other princes. This shows Rudrasena I was the leader of the confederacy formed against Samudragupta while he was in the Deccan. The power and position of Rudrasena I, the grandson of Pravarasena I and the Bhāśiva king Bhavanāga, naturally made him the most powerful antagonist against Samudragupta's imperial policy. His defeat at the hands of Samudragupta not only deprived the Vākāṭakas of their Central Indian possessions, if they had any, but also of some of their territories south of the Narmadā. The kingdom of this main or senior branch therefore came to be confined to the Northern Vidiarbha.

¹ The Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, Dec. 1935 613-33.

² The identification is questioned by Prof. Mirashi (Ib. p. 621) He says that the situation of the record (the Deotak inscription) shows that Rudrasena I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of Rudradeva with Rudrasena I.

Rudrasena I's son and successor was *Prithvīshena* I who evidently augmented their possessions in the Deccan by the conquest of Kuntala. He is described in the Hariishena's *prasasti* as *Kuntalendra*. Kuntala has been identified with the region of the Kanarese country, practically the same as the district round Vanavāsi¹. A Kadamba king of the Mayūrasāman's line was apparently the ruler of Kuntala from whom Prithvisena I conquered it.² Prithvīshena's son and successor was Rudrasena II who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. That the Vākatakas still maintained a strong and supreme position in the Western and Central Deccan is proved by the fact that Chandragupta sought their friendly alliance before his Śaka campaign (*Supta*, p. 251) giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to Rudrasena II. (Rithpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā JRASB, NS, XX, 58 ff). Prabhāvatīguptā was connected with the well-known Nāga kula through her mother Kuberaṇagā. After her husband's death she acted as regent to her minor sons, Divākaraśena and Dāmodarsena. *Divākarasena* seems to have been short-lived. He was succeeded by his brother *Damodarsena* who, at his accession took the title of *Pravarasena* II. Several records of this prince have come to light. They record his donations of fields or villages situated in the modern districts of Amrāoti, Wardhā, Nagpur, Betul, Bhandāra and Bhāgāghat in the Central Provinces and Beiar. The Chammak (Illichpura, Dist. Beiar) Copperplate inscription of Pravarasena II, issued in the

But there is also the consideration that Rudrasena may have other records north of the Narmadā, not yet discovered. There is no doubt, however, that he had interest in the North Indian possessions of his close kinsmen the Bhāraśiva Nāgas and other allied Nāga princes whose independence was threatened by the aggressive imperialism of Samudragupta. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that Rudrasena I should have lent a helping hand to his kinsmen against Samudragupta.

¹ SI. p. 427, n. 3 Prof. Mirashi identifies it with the southern Malāthā country. ABNUH No. 1, p. 24.

² Ib., p. 427, n. 3. It is the opinion of some scholars that Vindhyaśena of the Bāsim branch really conquered Kuntala, probably aided by Prithvisheṇa (NHI p. 109).

18th. year of his reign, shows that he founded a new city which he named after him Pravarapura and probably shifted his capital there.¹ He was a devotee of Śambhu by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the reign of the *Kṛīta Yuga* or Golden Age.² He was a liberal monarch and made large gifts to thousands of Brāhmans.³

- Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena. He is known only from the unfinished Bāghat plates of Prithvīshena II.⁴ Narendrasena followed an aggressive policy and made some conquests in the east and in the north. The Bhāghat plates of his son Prithvīshena II state that he had by prowess subdued his enemies and that his commands were honoured by lords of Kosolā, Mekalā and Mālava.⁵ Prof. Mirashi makes the illuminating suggestion that Mālwā which remained under the direct rule of the Gupta emperor since the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya had probably became independent of Skandagupta under its Viceroy Govindagupta.⁶ I have already shown elsewhere (*supra*, p. 264) that Govindagupta, at first his father's Viceroy of Vaiśālī (Eastern India) was later transferred to Mālwā. A Mandasor inscription of the Mālwā year 524, (467 A.D.) of Dattabhaṭṭa son of Govindagupta's general Vayuakshita proves it. Prof. Mirashi refers to a Mandasor inscription in the Malwa grant of the Gwalior state (Gwalior Archaeological Survey Report for 1922-23, p. 23, p. 187) in which the name of Govindagupta is mentioned immediately after Chandragupta. The omission of Skandagupta's name is significant. It shows that Govindagupta refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of his nephew

¹ Bühler edited this record under the name of Illichpura grant. Prof. Mirashi suggests that it might be identified with Panvar in the Wardhā Dist. ABNMH No. 1, p. 17.

² *Prabhāvati guptāyāmūtpannasya Śambhab prasādu-dhṛiti kārttayugya-Fleet*, CII III, p. 236.

³ Ib.

⁴ ABNUHS No. I, p. 18. Also of Keilhorn, Bālgāhat. Plates of Prithvīshena II, Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 267, ff.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ ABNHS No. 1, p. 19.

after his brother's death. It may be that he sided with his southerneighbour Vākāṭaka Narendragupta, to whom he paid court as stated in the Bhāāghāṭ plates.¹ At any rate, this submission of Mālwā to Narendrasena, if the eulogy in the Bāāghāṭ plates is to be believed, chronologically fits in with his reign period which according to Prof. Mirashi was from c. 450 to 465).²

Narendrasena was succeeded by his son, Prīthvīshena II. During the reign of Narendrasena's reign, the Nalas of the Bastar state under their king Bhavadattavarman pressed the Vākāṭakas hard, entered deep into their territory and even occupied their erstwhile capital, Nandivaidhana, from which place Bhavadattavarman issued a copper-plate grant.³ Even though Narendrasena seems to have recovered the city, a considerable portion had still remained to be recovered by his son and successor Prīthvīshena II. A Vākāṭaka inscription of the time of Prīthvīshena describes him as the 'restorer of the broken fortune of the family.' Prof. Mirashi thinks that he probably changed his capital to Padmapura, near Padampur in the Banda District from where an unfinished Vākāṭaka copper-plate was intended to be issued.⁴ Before he died he was able to consolidate his position at his capital in Eastern Vidarbha and after a time, not only drove the enemy from his ancestral country, but even retrieved his position in the north also.

Prīthvīshena II was the last known member of this senior branch of the Vākāṭaka family. After him the kingdom was probably annexed by Harisheṇa of the junior Vatsgulma family, who is known to have made extensive conquests in all directions. Thus ended the senior branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty at about 480 A.D.⁵

¹ Ib. p. 19

² Ib.

³ Ib. p. 20 cf. "Riddhapin (Amraoti Distt.) Plates of Bhavadattavarman" Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX p. 100 ff.

⁴ Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 271.

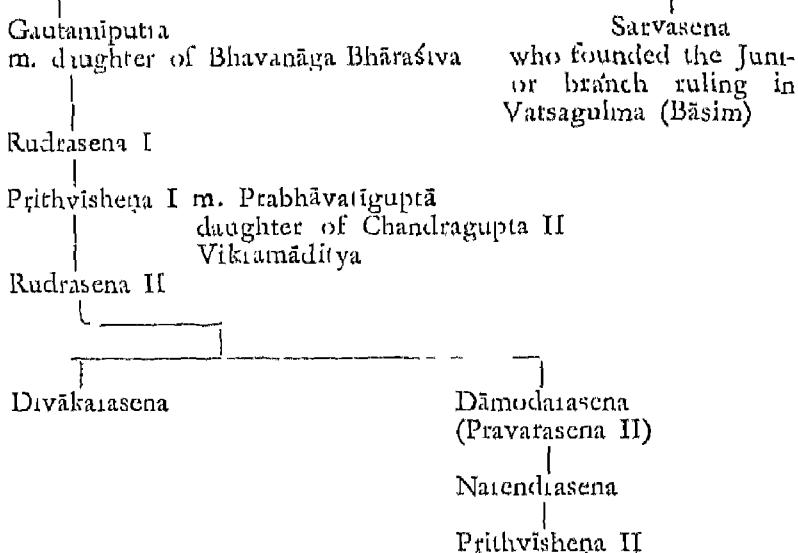
⁵ Cf. Mirashi—An Unfinished Vākāṭaka Plate from Drug. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII, p., 207 ff. A.B.N.H.S. No. 1, pp. 20-21.

⁶ Ib. 21.

Vākāṭaka Genealogy (Senior Branch)

Vindhyaśakti I

Pravarasena I



THE JUNIOR (VATSAGULMA) BRANCH

The discovery of the Bāsim copperplate inscription of Vindhyaśakti II in 1939² has brought to light the existence of this branch of the Vākāṭaka rulers, hitherto unknown. Several members of this branch were indeed mentioned in the Ajantā inscription in Cave XVI, but owing to a sad mutilation of the record, their names were misread. These names have since been restored by Prof. Mitashi in a new edition of the cave inscription.¹ He has shown that the princes who ruled the country to the south of

¹ D. C. Sircar, Ind. Hist. Quart.; XVI, p. 182 ff. Deshpande and Mahajan, Proc. Ind. His. Cong. Calcutta, 1939, p. 349 ff.

² Mitashi, Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI (Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 14.).

the Ajantā belonged to this branch of the Vākātaka family and that their rule extended to the south as far as the Godāvari.¹

The founder of the branch was Saivasena, mentioned as a son of Pravarasena I both in the Bāsim and Ajantā inscriptions. He was presumably a younger son and cut himself off from the main branch and founded an independent collateral ruling branch with Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola district as his capital, which gradually rivalled the old capital as a great centre of learning and culture. Saivasena assumed the title of Dharmamahāāja in accordance with the custom in South. Tradition ascribes to him the authorship of the Prākrit Kāvya *Hariwijaya* and some Prākrit gāthās included in the famous anthology *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.²

Saivasena was succeeded by his son, Vindhyaśakti known as Vindhyaśakti II in the Bāsim plates. He was the author of the Bāsim grant which he made in the 37th. year of his reign. He, like his father, assumes the title of Dharmamahāāja. The Bāsim plate is an important landmark in the recorded history of the Vākātakas. The plates issued from the royal capital at Vatsagulma register the grant by Vindhyaśakti II of a village north of Nāndi Kata, modern Nanded, in the Nizam's dominions. The genealogical portion of the grant written in Sanskrit, omits the names of Gautamiputra and Rudrasena I, the eldest son and grandson of Pravarasena I, and mentions Sarvasena, immediately after, and as a son of, Pravarasena I, and as the father of Vindhyaśakti II, the author of the grant. This incidence as well as the fact that the grant was issued from a new town Vatsagulma, evidently the capital city of the collateral line, prove that Saivasena, a younger son of Pravarasena I, founded this independent line which otherwise would have remained unknown to us.

Vindhyaśakti II was followed by his son *Pravarasena II*. Curiously enough this prince bears the same name as his contemporary of the main branch did. Very little is known about him, but he appears, from the Ajantā inscription, to have been an enlightened ruler.

¹ A.B.N.U.H.S. No. 1, p. 21.

² Ib. p. 22.

The name of his successor who ascended the throne in his eighth year is unfortunately lost in the Ajantā inscription which, however, states that he 'ruled well'.¹

He was followed by his son *Devasena*. He issued a copper-plate inscription from Valsagulma.² This shows that Bāsim continued to be the royal capital. He had a very able, experienced and highly qualified minister named Hastibhoja to whom he entrusted the government of the kingdom himself seeking the pleasures of life.³

Deviseni was succeeded by his son, *Harisheṇa*, during whose time the Ajantā cave (XVI) inscription was issued, tracing the genealogy of the collateral branch of the Vākāṭaka kings up to his time. He is described in the epigraph as a valiant king. He is said to have made many conquests and extended his kingdom in all directions. The lines (14-15) of the Ajantā inscription which describes his conquests are sadly mutilated, but the portions which exist indicate that his conquests included Kuntala (Southern Marathā country), Avanti (Western Mālwā), Kaliṅga (Orissa), Kośala (South Kośala or Chhattisgarh),⁴ Trīkūṭa (Nāsik District), Lāṭa (Gujrāt) and Andhra (the country along the eastern coast between the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā). This shows that he ruled over an extensive territory running from Mālwā in the north to Kuntala in the south; in the east it touched the Bay of Bengal and in the west the Arabian Sea.

Like his father he had an able and popular minister in Varāhadēva who was probably the son of Devasena's Minister Hastibhoja, and caused the Ajantā Cave XVI to be excavated and the highly informative inscription to be inscribed on its wall. The Vākāṭaka power probably reached its zenith during the reign of Harisheṇa who probably ruled over the entire Vākāṭaka empire.

¹ "प्रशाशनुस समयं"

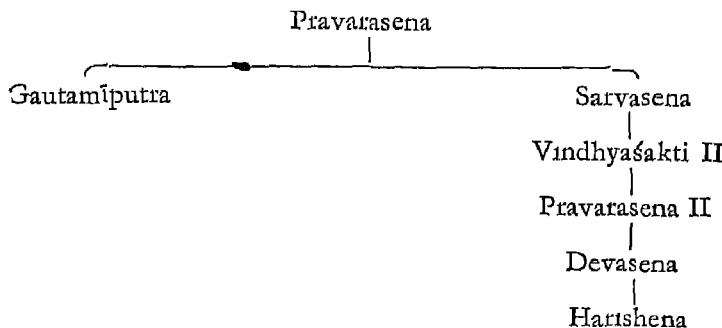
² New Ind. Ant. 1937, p. 177 ff.

³ वैष्णव घटेष्ट-चेष्ट: Ajantā Cave XVI inscription.

⁴ 39 States Mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region, including the two states of Orissa, e.g., Patna and Kalia Handi situated on the borders of C.P. and Orissa.

He is the last known ruler of the dynasty. No name of any Vākāṭaka king after him is known to us. Harishena reigned about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. The dynasty must have been overthrown by about the middle of the next century. We do not know of any sensational event connected with its downfall. Several causes may have led to it: the weakness of Harishena's successors, if any and the rise of old enemies like the Naṭas and of new powers like the Kalachuris and the Kadambas. The rise in Mālwā and in the Northern C. P. of a short-lived power in the person of Yaśodharman who reigned about 532 A.D.¹ assumed the imperial titles, and claimed to have ruled the territories not even acquired by the Gupta and Hūna kings,² must have included in his empire the northern districts of the Vākāṭakas. Yaśodharman's empire was short-lived, and probably the Kalachuris finally destroyed the Vākāṭaka power and built up their own over the ruins of the former as the numismatic evidences show.³

Vākāṭaka Genealogy (Junior Branch)



¹ Yaśodharman's dated Mandasor inscription V.E. 589 = A.D. 532 (Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XVIII, p. 220, XX, 188 ff).

² His undated Mandasor inscription (Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 219 ff XX, p. 188).

³ The coins of Krishnārāja who heads the genealogical list in early Kalachuri grants have been found all over the country. A.B.NUHS No. 1, p. 24, of Arch. Surv. Rep. 1913-14, p. 214, Bombay Gaz. Vol. I pt. II, p. 13, B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX (Extra Number pages 7 and 9.

THE VĀKĀTAKA AGE

Political conquests were not the only achievements of the Vākātakas. Excellent activities in religion, art and literature also marked the Vākātaka Age.¹ The words of high praise of Prof. Dubreuil for the Vākātaka civilisation quoted in the beginning of this chapter, are true indeed.

The Vākātakas themselves were staunch Brāhmaṇanist but were tolerant to other religions, such as Buddhism and Jainism which continued to flourish in their vast empire with liberal support of their ministers and feudatories. We have seen how Pravarasena had performed the seven Vedic sacrifices, including the *Aśvamedha* which he performed four times. (*Supra*, p. 282) Several Vākātaka inscriptions record grants of lands and even whole villages to pious and learned Brāhmaṇas. Most of the Vākātaka kings were the followers of Śiva whom they worshipped under the name of Maheśvara and Mahābhairava and for whom they erected several temples. Rudrasena II, son-in-law of Chandragupta II, however, seems to have been a worshipper of Vishṇu, perhaps under the influence of his wife or father-in-law, both of whom were devout Vaishṇavas for which there are inscriptional evidences.¹ But his son Pravarasena II seems to have gone back to Śaivism, as he has been designated as *paramamāheśvara* in his Chammak plate inscription².

Many of the Vākātaka kings were not only great patrons of learning and learned men, but also Literature. authors of excellent Prākṛit kāvyas and gāthās. As already shown (*Supra*) Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma line, was the author of the Prākṛit kāvya *Harivijaya* based on the Krishṇa, Satyabhāmā and Pārijāta episode in the Mahābhārata. The kāvya is not now

¹ Fleet—Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 25, 43 f, 141, Allan Cat. P. 49; Rithpur copper-plate of Prabhāvatigupta JASB (NS) Vol. XX, p. 58 f; Mirashi, Pattan plates of Pravarasena II, Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXIII, p. 86

² Ind. Ant. XII, p. 239 ff, SI p. 421.

extant, but the copious citations and references made thereof by later Sanskrit poets testify to the excellence of the style and theme as well as to the authorship of the Kāvya. Several of his Prākṛit gāthās have been included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. During his reign Vatsagulma became a great centre of learning and culture. Pravarasena II of the elder branch of the family was also a reputed royal author of several Prākṛit gāthās included in the *Gāthā Saptaśatī* and of the famous Kāvya *Setubandha*, also called *Rāvaṇavaho*, composed in Mahāśāshṭri Prākṛit. High praise is bestowed on the Kāvya *Setubandha* by competent authors. Dandin who wrote a century later (Sixth century) calls it in his *Kavyādarśa* a mine of gems in the form of good sayings, and Bāṇa (seventh century) says in his *Harshacharita* that "by means of this setu (i.e. *Setubandha*) the fame of Piavarasena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge" (of Rāma).¹ It may be that Kālidāsa who was a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and survived him, lived for sometime in the Court of Piavarasena II, helped the Royal author in the composition of his Kāvya, and also composed his own lovely lyric *Meghadūta* regarded as Kāvya of Vidaibha, during his sojourn there.²

Architecture, Sculpture and painting also received their share of patronage from the Vākāṭaka kings. The two shrines in Vidaibha, one in Tigowa near Bahuriaband in the Jubbalpore District, with its flat roof and covered verandah, and the other in Nachnā (Nagod State) are in good state of preservation. The pillars and pillasters in the verandah of the Tigowa shrine have capitals of the Indo-Persepolitan style with half-seated lions carved back to back with a tree between them. Statues of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā guard the entrance of the sanctum.

¹ कीर्तिः प्रवरस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोञ्चला । सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ।

² Cf. ABNHS No 1, pp. 29-31 and Ib. p. 31, n. 75 Prof. Mirashi gives good reason to believe that Kālidāsa may have been in the Pravarasena II's court in Vidaibha and may have helped the royal author to complete the book. Ib. pp. 31-32.

The Nachnā temple was built by Vyāghradeva as feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Mahārja Prithvisēṇa II¹.

Some of the most magnificent caves of Ajantā, Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Chaitya cave XIX belong to the Vākāṭaka age.² The cave XVI excavated by Varāhadeva, Minister of Harishcēṇa contains a hall 66 feet long, 65 feet broad and 15 feet high. The roof is cut in imitation of beams and rafters. The shrine at the farthest end contains a huge³ statue of the Buddha in the *Dharmachakra pravartana mudrā*. Picture galleries which covered the whole of interior of the cave have now been damaged, but the one noteworthy piece, that of the dying prince, has been highly praised for its pathos and sentiment, artistic skill and colour by the famous art critic Mr. Griffiths.⁴ The cave XVII, a vihāra cave containing a statue of the Buddha, and in size and make is similar to the aforementioned one. The Chaitya cave XIX, is one of the four other Chaitya caves at Ajantā, elaborately carved throughout with beautiful sculptures, including standing and seated images of the Buddha. It is considered by Fergusson as one of the best specimens of the Buddhist art in India. Both these caves were constructed by a feudatory of Harishcēṇa.⁴

¹ Ib. pp. 33-34. Cf. A.S.I.R. IX, p. 43.

² Cave Temples of India by Fergusson and Burgess p. 303 f.

³ Ib. p. 307.

⁴ BNUHS No. I pp. 35-37.

CHAPTER XII

THE POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE DOWNFALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE TO THE RISE OF HARSHAVARDHANA

The sixth century A.D., i.e. the period between the downfall of the Gupta Empire to the rise of Harshavardhana of Thānnesvara about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. is a period of another disintegration when India was broken up into a number of small independent states including the one founded by the Hūnas who were foreign invaders. We shall deal in this chapter the history of these states including that of the remnant of the Gupta power held by what is known as the later Guptas of Magadha and Eastern Mālwā, each in a separate section.

[SEC. I]

THE HUNAS

Imp
One of the greatest shocks which the Gupta imperial power had received was the invasion of the Hūnas. They were a horde of fierce nomadic race who originally lived in the neighbourhood of China. Issuing out of their home, they overran the whole of Persia and Afghanistan putting the country through which they passed under fire and sword. Another section of this horde went to Europe and earned equal notoriety for their savage vandalism. As already shown their first invasion of India took place about the close of Kumāragupta's reign which was successfully resisted by the Crown prince Skandagupta [*Supra*]. Undaunted by this temporary check, they again came in large numbers about the close of the fifth century A.D. under a new leader *Toramāṇa*, and entrenched themselves in the Uttarāpatha, including Gandhāra and Kaśmīr and then attacked the western territories of the Guptas; killed men and women, destroyed fields and homes and raised to the ground

the monuments and glorious relics of the Gupta Empire. Toramāṇa's name is found in the *Rājataranginī*, the inscriptions and coins and the Hūna possessions in the Uttarakaputra is also referred to in the *Harsacharita*. The Erāṇi Stone Boar Inscription of Toamāṇa [C. I.I., III, p. 159 f] proves his sovereignty over Central India. The conquest of this part of the Gupta Empire by Toramāṇa must have taken place sometime after the Gupta era 165 [=A.D. 484], which is the date of the Erāṇi Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta when he was still ruling Central India including Mālwā through his vassal-chief Mātṛvishnu whose younger brother was Dhanyavishnu [C. I.I., III, p. 89]. The Erāṇi inscription of Toamāṇa, dated in the year 1 of his reign, shows that Dhanyavishnu, the younger brother of Mātṛvishnu, now deceased, was a vassal of the Hūna king. Another Erāṇi Stone pillar inscription of the time of Bhānugupta [C.I.I., III, p. 92 f] refers to a battle in which his general Goparāja died fighting in a sanguinary battle and his wife died on the funeral pyre of her husband.¹ The inscription is dated in G.E. 191 [= 510 A.D.]. It is not unlikely that the battle referred to may represent the final phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūnas in Central India in which the latter deprived the Guptas of their Central Indian possessions including Mālwā.

Toamāṇa's son and successor was *Mihirakula* who figures in traditional literature as a fiend of destruction and as a monster who took immense delight in acts of wanton brutality. Yuan Chwang says that Mo-hi-ki-lo [Mihirakula] carried on a merciless persecution of the Buddhists, destroying and plundering their stūpas and monasteries. The pilgrim further states that king Bālāditya of Magadha, when attacked by him, utterly defeated him, took him prisoner and subsequently released him. After this defeat Mihirakula retired to Kaśmīr where he misused the Kaśmīr king's hospitality by seizing the throne of his benefactor by a successful conspiracy. But he could not enjoy long the fruits of his treachery, for

¹ This is an early epigraphic reference to the *Sati*.

death removed him from this earth within a year of his usurpation. Who this Bālāditya is cannot be stated with certainty. We have already shown [*Supra*, p. 269] that he cannot be Narasīmhangupta Bālāditya, and must be some body else bearing that name who ruled in Magadha. Narasīmhangupta Bālāditya ruled before G.E. 154=473 A.D., which is the date of his successor Kumāragupta as recorded in his Sārnāth inscription [Arch. Surv. Ind., Ann. Rep. 1914-15, p. 124], whereas the attack on Madhyadeśa by Mihirakula, son and successor of Toramāna, which resulted in his defeat by Bālāditya could not have taken place before 484 A.D. when the Central Indian possessions of the Gupta rulers were still intact, and Mihirakula's father, Toramāna was still alive. And if my suggestion [*Supra*] that the enemy who killed Bhānugupta's general Goparāja in the very famous battle in Central India [Fleet, No. 20, Eran Inscription of the time of Bhānugupta]¹ of the year 510 A.D., is the Hunā chief Toramāna who issued in the first year of his reign, an inscription from Eran proving his sovereignty over Central India, then Toramāna was alive in [510 + 1 A.D.] 511 A.D. Consequently, the Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang who defeated Mihirakula must be a later Gupta ruler of Magadha who reigned long after Narasīmhangupta Bālāditya, the predecessor of Kumāragupta II [c. 473 A.D.]. There are epigraphic evidences to show that several rulers of Madhyadeśa had the name or title of Bālāditya. In lines 2-6 of the Deo-Baranālk Inscription [Fleet, No. 46] of a later Gupta ruler of Magadha, Jīvitagupta II, the name of one Bālāditya occurs. In the Sārnāth Inscription of Prakaṭāditya, king of Kāśī [Fleet, No. 79] two rulers of his dynasty are mentioned as Bālādityas. R. D. Banerji [Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India, p. 194] is probably right when he identifies one of these Bālādityas with the one mentioned by Yuan Chwang as the conqueror of Mihirakula.

¹ C.I.I., III, p. 92 f.

F. 38.

If there is still uncertainty about the Mihirakula-Bālāditya episode for lack of any corroborating epigraphic evidence, there

Mihirakula's Defeat by Yasodharmā. There is none, however, of a crushing defeat in battle of Mihirakula at the hands of a chief of Mālwā,

Yaśodharman by name, whose exploits are narrated in his Mandasor Inscription [Fleet, No. 33], in which it is stated, among other things, that Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king, paid him homage. Verses 6 and 7 of the praśasti describe in its characteristic style the Mihirakula-Yaśodharman episode : "He [i.e. Yaśodharman] to whose two feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthānu, and embraced by whose arm the Himalaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was painted through being now for the first time bent low by the strength of his [Yaśodharman's] arm in the act of compelling obeisance." From the above passage we can glean that the Hūṇa Mihirakula was a very powerful monarch, was a devotee of Śiva [Sthānu], his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it and that he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhana mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kaśmīr. According to the Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Śākala or Sialkot in the Punjab. His empire appears to have extended from Kaśmīr to Mālwā from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman.

The epigraph which records this event is undated, but it [Hūṇa king's defeat] must be placed after the Vikrama era 589,

i.e. 532 A.D., the date recorded in a Mandasor

Date of Yaśodharman Mihirakula Battle inscription [Fleet, No. 35] which eulogises Yaśodharman but does not mention Mihirakula.

As the inscription [Fleet, No. 33] which refers to the Hūṇa defeat by Yaśodharman is engraved by the same person Govinda who engraved the dated inscription [Fleet, No. 35] the probability is that the event fell within a few years on either side of the date [533 A.D.]. Dr. V. Smith's suggestion that

Yaśodharman and Bālāditya fought a combined battle against Mihirakula is of doubtful value. The probability is that two separate battles were fought—one by Bālāditya for the defence of Magadha, and the other by Yaśodharman to free Central India from the Hūna subjection.

The rise to power and prominence of Yaśodharman is shrouded in mystery. His origin is unknown. He is Yaśodharman of Malwa, described in the epigraph as 'Janendia' [a tribal ruler]. His capital was Mandasor [Western Mālwā], where his inscriptions are found. The Mandasor epigraphs containing his *prāśasti* [Fleet, Nos. 33 and 35] give an eulogy of his exploits and conquests, including his victory over the Hūna king Mihirakula. He thus occupies an important place in the political history of the period under review. The court panegyrist tells us that he conquered the whole of India from the Hūmālayas in the north to Mahendra [Eastern Ghāts] in the south, and from the Brahmaputria [Lauhitya] in the east to the Arabian Sea in the west [*paśchimādāpayodhe*] and that he was lord of the countries not possessed even by the Guptas and Hūnas. There is, however, no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of the extensive land mentioned in the epigraph. It is a conventional *prāśasti* and need not be taken as entirely historical in all its details. The verses refer to the *dīgvijaya* which the king claims to have performed and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravartikshetra*. The facts, however, that he achieved the freedom of Central India by defeating Mihirakula and probably also attacked the Gupta kingdom in the east, appear to have no doubt.

[SEC. 2]

THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

One of the earliest powers which rose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire were the *Maitrakas of Valabhi*. Their chief *Senāpati* Bhaṭṭārka established his rule in Sauvāshtra with Valabhi as capital. Valabhi has been identified with Wala, near Bhavanagar.

Bhaṭṭāka, the founder of the dynasty of Valabhi rulers and his son and successor *Dharasena I* called themselves *senapatis*.¹ The next five rulers are *Dronasimha*, *Dharmasena I*, *Dharapatta*, *Gubasena* and *Dharasena II*—all called themselves *Mahārājas*. This shows that they either maintained nominal allegiance to the Guptas out of deference to them or temporarily owed allegiance to some other power, probably the Hūṇas. The Māhyā [Junagadh State, Kāthiāwār] Copper-Plate inscription of *Dharasena II* [Fleet, No. 38] provides the names of his predecessors including that of the founder of the ruling dynasty and is dated in the Gupta year 252 = 571 A.D. The earliest dated record of the Valabhi rulers is the Bhūmodara-Mahata [Kāthiāwār] copper-plate of the year 183 [= A.D. 502] issued by the third king of the dynasty *Dronasimha* [Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 18 f.] Their rise to ruling power, therefore, may be dated about the close of the fifth century A.D., and in the sixth and seventh centuries they made themselves a considerable power in western India. One of the great kings of Valabhi was *Śilāditya* who conquered Mo-la-po [Western Mālwā].¹ His nephew *Dhruvasena II* was reigning when Yuan Chwang visited Valabhi. The pilgrim records the name of the king as Tu-lo-po-ta [*Dhruvabhatta*] and says that he was a nephew of Śilāditya, the former king of Mo-la-po and a son-in-law of Śilāditya [Haisha], king of Kānyakubja. He was a man of hasty-temper and shallow views but was a sincere Buddhist [Watteis, p. 246]. It is clear that Valabhi must have been attacked by Haisha during his wars of conquest and expansion [*infra*], when Dhruvasena [*Dhruvabhatta*] was king and who had fled the country to take refuge with Dadda of Broach, and recovered his throne with the latter's help. A peace was evidently patched up between him and Harshavardhana who cemented their friendly political alliance by making the Valabhi king his son-in-law. The pilgrim informs us that Dhruvabhatta was one of the kings who attended Harsha's assembly at Prayāga as one of the emperor's numerous allies.

¹ Śilāditya I who acquired the second name Dharmāditya. Vide Alina [Khaira Dist. Gujarat] Copper-plate inscription of Śilāditya VII [Fleet No. 39], p. 181.

Dhruvasena II's son and successor was *Dharasena IV*. The Khedā [Kaira] giant [Ind. Ant., 1886, pp. 335-40] informs us that he assumed the full imperial title of Paśamabhaṭṭākā, Mahārājā-dhīrāja, Paśameśvara and Chakravartin, and of his conquest of the Gujjāja. The giant was issued in G.E. 330 [=A.D. 649] from his camp of victory [Vijayaskandhāvāsa] located at Bharukachchha [Broach], which shows his sovereignty over that place. The history of the Valabhī dynasty is blank until G.E. 447 [=A.D. 766], which is the date recorded in the Alnā Copper-plate of Śilāditya VII who mentions in his epigraph several of his predecessors bearing the name Śilāditya. Nothing more than their names is known from any source. It is, however, clear from the epigraph that the Valabhī dynasty continued its political independence in full vigour up to the end of the 8th century A.D., and continued to maintain it until it was destroyed by the Arab invaders from Sind.

Despite its short political history Valabhī played an important part not only as a great seat of learning and culture, but also a centrie of trade and commerce Bharukachchha Commerce and Culture [Broach] which the Valabhī king conquered in the

8th century A.D. was an entrepot of goods and traffic, extensively used for both internal and external trade. The capital city of Valabhī itself so fortunately situated in Kāthiāwāī was "a port of international trade with numerous ware-houses full of latest merchandise."¹ The seventh and eighth centuries were the heyday of this greatness. Although most of their kings were Śaivas, there is nothing on record to show that they persecuted Buddhism. In fact Yuan Chwang who visited Valabhī at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. testifies to its king being a Buddhist. I-tsing who visited Valabhī shortly after Yuan

Chwang found it a great centrie of learning. A great centrie of learning In fact Valabhī occupied almost the same position as a seat of University learning in Western India, as Nālandā did in the Eastern India. Famous Buddhist scholars, Guṇamati and Sthiramati were two leading scholars

¹ A. S. Altekar, EAI, p. 124.

of the University at the middle in the 7th century A.D. [The Copper-Plate grant of Sthirāmatī, Ind. Ant. VI, p. 11]. Like Nālandā Valabhī was not a Buddhist centre of learning only. In the Kathāsaritsāgara [ch. XXXII] we find that even Brahman boys from the distant Gangetic plains used to come to Valabhī for higher education. I-tsing [p. 177] says that graduates of Valabhī were appointed to high executive posts. This shows that the subjects taught were varied in character and included both sacred and secular subjects. That the University enjoyed considerable intellectual freedom and was reputed for catholicity is also clear from the pilgrim's statement. He says that the scholars from all parts of India used to assemble at Valabhī and stay there for at least two or three years to discuss 'possible and impossible doctrines'. The university received considerable support from the merchant princes of the wealthy city of Valabhī as also from the Maitraka kings who were great patrons of learning.¹

[SEC. 3]

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA AND MĀLĀWĀ

The Gupta Empire, as we have seen, broke up in the middle of the sixth century A.D. But some Gupta rulers were reigning in North-Eastern India and Mālwā which they must have recovered after the destruction of the Hūṇas. What relations they had with the imperial Guptas is not known. May be they were descended from Puragupta. Their territory in the North-East was confined to Magadha and its neighbourhood. For this reason they are designated as the Gupta rulers of Magadha. In order to distinguish them from the previous imperial Gupta rulers, they are also called as the later Gupta rulers. The names of eleven later Gupta rulers of Magadha have been found and their reign-period covers roughly 200 years. Their genealogical tree can be drawn from two inscriptions: [i] the Aphysad [Gayā]

¹ Ib. p. 125.

inscription of Ādityasena,¹ gives the names of the first eight and their relations to each other [2] the Deo-Bātanāṭik [Shahabad Dist.] inscription of Jīvitagupta II² provides the names of the remaining three. One Gupta king, Devagupta is known from Harsha's inscriptions at Banskharia and Madhubana.

The founder of the line is *Kṛishnagupta*. We know very little of him or of his son *Harshagupta* and grandson *Jīvitagupta I*. The fourth king, *Kumāragupta* was a powerful monarch. A new power was rising in Bihar and U.P. which gave constant trouble to the Guptas of Magadha. They were the Maukhariis [*infra*] Kumāragupta defeated the Maukhari king Isānavarman. This extended the Gupta territory as far as Piāyāga where Kumāragupta's funeral rites were performed [Fleet, No. 42]. His son Dāmodaragupta was, however, killed³ by Isānavarman's son, Saravarman, and Magadha for some time, came under the Maukhariis. Dāmodaragupta's son and successor was *Mahāsenagupta*. He is probably to be identified with the king of Mālwā whose sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta were sent as companions of Haisha, as stated in the *Harshacharita*. If the identification is correct, as most probably it is, then it is clear that Mahāsenagupta must have retired to Mālwā and ruled the principality when Ādityavardhana, father of Piabhākaravardhana was reigning in Thānesvāra. The Madhubana giant and the Sonpat Copper-seal inscription⁴ of Haishavardhana name the mother of Piabhākaravardhana as Mahāsenaguptā. The Apsad inscription also states that Mahāsenagupta's son Mādhavagupta had "the desire to associate himself with the glorious Haishadeva." It may thus be inferred that Mahāsenagupta was keen to cultivate the friendship of the Vaidhanas of Thānesvāra first giving his sister in marriage to Ādityavardhana and then sending his two young sons to

¹ Fleet No. 42.

² Ib., No. 46.

³ Pandit K. C. Chāttopādhyāya [D. R. Bhandarkar Volume pp. 181 ff.], argues that the passage does not indicate the death of Dāmodaragupta but that he swooned.

⁴ Fleet No. 42.

Thāneśvara to serve as companions of Prince Harsha. That the alliance was eminently successful is proved by the fact that Mahāsenagupta not only recovered the lost territory from the Maukhariis but also, as the Apsad Inscription records, 'won a great victory over the illustrious Susthitavaraman, king of Kāmuūpa, the fame of which is still sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya' [Brahmaputra]. The reign of Mahāsenagupta is a fixed point of chronology of the later Gupta kings of Magadha, as his contemporaneity with Ādityavardhana and Piabbhākavardhana, the grandfather and father respectively of Harsha is beyond any doubt.

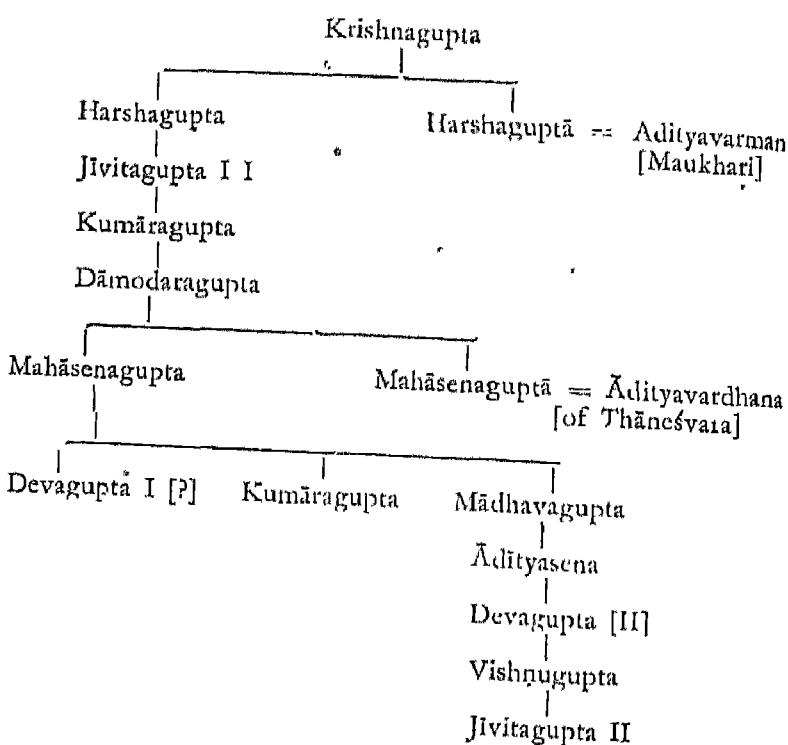
Harsha's empire included Magadha, and he put on throne of Magadha his friend and ally *Mīdvaragupta*, the son of Mahāsenagupta. But the name of another Gupta ruler of Mālwā, *Devagupta*, occurs in the Madhubana inscription, whom we have to place somewhere between Mahāsenagupta and Mādhavagupta. According to the *Harshacharita* the wicked lord of Mālwā, in alliance with Śāsāṅka, lord of Gauda [Bengal] killed the Maukhari king of Kanauj, Grahavarman, and imprisoned his queen Rājyaśrī, and her brother Rājyavardhana the king of Thāneśvara, defeated the Gupta king "with ridiculous ease." Bāna does not mention his name. But we know from the Madhubana plate that a Gupta king named Devagupta was defeated by Rājyavardhana. So we may take Devagupta as the adversary of Grahavarman and later defeated by Rājyavardhana. Devagupta, therefore, was probably the eldest son of Mahāsenagupta and succeeded to the throne of Mālwā after his father's death, while his two younger brothers, Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta were in the court of Thāneśvara. As king of Mālwā he followed the traditional policy of his family against his hereditary enemies, the Maukhariis of Kanauj. His defeat, however, by Rājyavardhana, a close relation of the Maukhari king and killed by Devagupta, led to the annexation of Mālwā, as related by Bāṇa. The line of Gupta kings of Mālwā thus came to an end with Devagupta whom we may designate as Devagupta I as distinct from another Devagupta who came later. It is significant that the Apsad Inscription omits the name of Devagupta from the list and the Deo-Baiñārk Inscription gives us the

genealogy of the new line of Gupta kings which starts from Mādhavagupta whom Harsha placed in charge of the eastern parts of his empire. Mādhavagupta remained a faithful ally of Harsha. But after the death of Harsha and the break up of his empire, Mādhavagupta's son and successor *Ādityasena* revived some of the lost glories of the imperial Guptas by making extensive conquests and assuming for the first time in his family the title of *Paramabhattaraka Mahārājādhirāja*. Ādityasena's Shahpur stone inscription [Elect, No. 43] gives us the details of his conquests which included Aṅga. The date of the inscription, Harsha era 66 = A.D. 672, is another fixed point of chronology of the later Gupta rulers, as it is in complete fitting with the contemporaneity of his father Mādhavagupta with Harsha. Ādityasena and his successors continued to assume the imperial title. That it was not an empty title is indicated by the records of the western Chālukyas of Vātāpi which refers to one of them as *sakalottarāpatha-nātha*. The rulers named in the Deo-Baranārk¹ inscription in order of succession from Ādityasena are *Devagupta*, his son *Vishnugupta* and his son *Jīvitagupta*. According to a Chālukya record [Ind. Ant., IX, p. 129] Vinayāditya, the Chālukya king of Vātāpi won a great victory over "the Lord of all the region of the North" [*Sakalottarāpathanātha*]. The king of the north, here referred to, is most probably Devagupta, son of Ādityasena. The Gupta territories since the time of Ādityasena which included Magadha, Aṅga and parts of Madhyadeśa, as the provenance of their epigraphs indicate, were finally occupied by the Gauḍa kings of Bengal in the 'middle of the eighth century A.D.'²

The Genealogical Tree of the Later Guptas of Magadha and Mālwā as drawn from the Aphsd, Deo-Baranārk and Madhubana inscriptions and references to the *Harshacharita*

¹ The grant recorded in the Deo-Baranārk Inscription is not an original one of Jīvitagupta II, but only a confirmation of that of the two Maukhari kings, and also of *Bālāditya*, whom they probably succeeded in power. This *Bālāditya* may be the one mentioned by Yuan Chwang to have defeated and taken prisoner Mihirakula.

² *Gauḍa-viśva* by Vākpāṇirāja; also Cf. PIIAI, 31d, ed., p. 412.



[SEC. 4]

THE MAUKHARIS

A dynasty, known as the Maukharis, occupied an important place in the politics of Northern India during the period under review. Their origin is uncertain, but their antiquity is borne out by a clay seal containing the legend 'Mokhalinam,' i.e., the Mokhalis or Maukharis, written in Brāhmī characters of the Mauryan period. The provenance of the inscriptions of the early Maukhari chiefs indicate the extent of their power in the early stage. Originally their territory was confined to South Bihar. In the Barābāri and Nāgārjunī [Gayā] Hill Cave Inscriptions [Fleet, Nos. 48, 49 and 50] we find a set of three Maukhari rulers. They are in order of succession and relationship *Yajña Varman*, his son *Sārdūla* and his son *Anantavarman*. None of

them is described in the epigraph as Rājā or Mahārāja, but a mere Sāmanta or Sāmantachūḍāmanī. From this we gather that this line of Maukhari rulers were probably vassals of the later Guptas of Magadha.

A new line of Maukhari rulers is obtained from the Asirgarh copper-seal inscription of Śarvavarman [Fleet, No. 47]. The inscription is important not only as providing the genealogical list but some facts of history as well.

Harivarman is mentioned as the first king of this line. He is called a mahārāja which shows that he was probably an independent ruler. He is described in the *prafasti* Harivarman in its characteristic style as one "whose fame stretched out to the four oceans and who had other kings brought under his subjection by his prowess and affection."

He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Ādityavarman who married Harshaguptā, the daughter of king Krishnagupta and sister of Harshagupta of Magadha. From the Adityavarman inscriptions of the later Gupta kings of Magadha and the *Harshacharita* we learn of the hereditary feuds between the Guptas and Maukharis. It is probable that these feuds were sometime settled by matrimonial alliances between the two houses.

Ādityavarman's son and successor was Īśvaravarman who also called himself a mahārāja. The Jaunpur Stone Inscription [Fleet, No. 51] is ascribed to him, and as such he must have reigned before 554 A.D., the earliest known date of his son Īśānavarman, as recorded in the latter's Harāhā Inscription [Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV]. Three important events are recorded in the Jaunpur Inscription: [1] "A spark of fire that had come by the road from the city of Dhāra, was easily extinguished by Īśvavavarman." This probably refers to the defeat of the upstart tribal chief of Mālwā, Yaśodharman who may have transferred his capital from Mandsor to Dhāra. The two cities are close to each other. The ruler of Dhāra, as the passage indicates, was the aggressor. [2] "The lord of the Andhras, wholly given to fear,

took up his abode in the crevices of the Vindhya mountain'. This undoubtedly means, that he defeated the Andhras who crossed the Vindhyas to invade Northern India. [3] He also defeated another king who being beaten 'retired to the Raivataka mountain.' This shows that an invader from Saurashtra or Kathiawar was also defeated by Isavaravarmi. According to Asirga^ñ Inscription of Saravarman [Fleet, No. 47] his chief queen and the mother of his son and successor Isanavarman was Devi Upagupti. The name suggests that she was a princess of the Gupta family of Magadha, probably a daughter or sister of his contemporary Jivitagu^{pa} I. From the Harahā Inscription we get some information about the personal virtues of Isavaravarmi. He was kind and compassionate, pious in conduct, ambitious and self-reliant, truthful in speech and liberal in gifts.

The son and successor of Isavaravarmi is Isanavarman. He was the first Maukhari king who assumed the title of Mahārājā-dhirāja [Fleet, No. 47]. That it was no empty Isavarman title is clear from his achievements recorded in his Harahā [Bārābanki Dist., U.P.] Inscription, according to which he won victories over the Andhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas, and soon raised his house to be a rival power with the later Guptas. His conflict with Kumāragupta was thus inevitable. This feud between the Maukhari and the later Guptas was continued through several generations until the latter wiped out the Maukhari power in the time of Grahavarman, brother-in-law of Harshavardhana [Infra, p. 313]. The hey-day of the Maukhari power was the reign of Isavaravarmi. His victory over the Śūlikas was a landmark in the dynastic history of the Maukhari. The Śūlikas were probably the Cholas. A Tamil Historical Text, the *Kallingottara param* [IA, XIX, p. 332-36] states that they [the Cholas] use pikes or śulis as their weapons. The Chola city of Kollipakkai is often represented in the inscriptions as being surrounded by Śuli [S.I.I., Vol. I and III]. It may be that to the North-Indian poet of the Harahā *prabasti* the South Indian name Chola did not appeal, and he substituted it by the Sanskrit name Śūlika.

Even in a South Indian inscription [Ep. Ind., p. 105] the Cholas have been described as 'Cholika.' Śūlika from Cholika is not impossible. This victory over the Cholas¹ and that over the Andhras and the Gaudas whom 'he kept within their proper realm' undoubtedly entitled him to the title of Mahārājādhīraja which distinguished him from his predecessors. The newly achieved political dominance of the house of the Maukhari is also reflected in its coinage. Coins of Isānavarman and his two successors Saravarman and Avantivarman have been found. Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., I.C.S., describes a find of these coins in JRAS, 1906, p. 848. Besides coins, the Maukhari also issued seals, two of which were found in Nālandā along with his seals. One of these shows a part of its original inscription, giving the Maukhari genealogy in which can be read the names of the founder Harivarman and his wife Jayasvāminī. On some of the other seals is found the legend 'King Isānavarman known for his knowledge of Varnāśramadharma and keeping his subjects contented [*rañjita-prakṛitib*]. On the tip of the seals appears the symbol of a well-moulded bull walking to left, with an attendant on either side [Arch. Surv. Rep. Eastern Circle, 1917-18 p. 44].

His son and successor was Saravarman. According to the Apsad Inscription he avenged the defeat of his father by Kumāragupta by defeating and killing Kumāragupta's son, Dāmodaragupta.

¹ A very ancient Tamil work the *Silapaddikāra* [V. II. 89-110] which narrates an event connected with Harivarman helps to clear some doubts regarding Isānavarman's victory over the Cholas or Śūlikas. The book states that a Chola king Karikāla having subdued the neighbouring states in the south led an expedition into Āryāvarta and the king of Magadha paid him tribute.

The Magadha king referred to was perhaps Harivarman, Maukhari, a most outstanding ruler in Northern India at the time. This shows that there was a hereditary feud between the Maukhari and the Cholas and Isānavarman, the most powerful of the Maukhari kings avenged the defeat of his family.

² Cf. Harāhā Ins. Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 110 ff.

The Deo-Baranjärk Inscription of Jivitagupta II indicates that the authority of Śārvavarman and his successor Avantivarman extended as far as Arah where the inscription was found. This is, again, the only inscription which records the name of the Maukhari king *Avantivarman*. The epigraph says that Jivitagupta confirmed a grant of a temple which had previously been confirmed first by Bäladityagupta and then by Śārvavarman and Avantivarman Maukhari. From this it may be inferred that Avantivarman succeeded Śārvavarman. It is, however, difficult to say in what relation Avantivarman stood with Śārvavarman. He is also mentioned in the *Harshacharita* as the Maukhari king whose son Grahavarman was married to Rājyastī. He is described in the inscription as Mahātājādhirāja and Paramesvara which shows that the Maukhari power and influence were still intact.

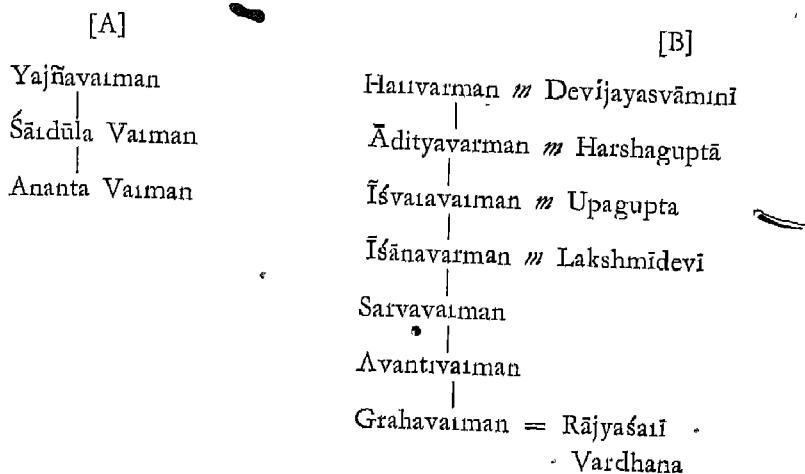
The last independent Maukhari ruler of imperial dignity was *Grahavarman*, the son and successor of Avantivarman, as recorded in the *Harshacharita* which is the only source of his history. His capital was Kanauj, and he was the son-in-law of Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśvara, whose daughter Rājyaśī was married to him. The Vardhanas of Thāneśvara had established themselves as great power in the north-west under Prabhākaravardhana. The matrimonial alliance, therefore, between the two houses speaks well of the position of the Maukharis and the Guptas is well known. A Gupta king of Eastern Mālwā, probably, Devagupta [Supra, p. 391] in alliance with Śāśāṅka, king of the Gaudas, attacked Kanauj, killed Grahavarman and destroyed the Maukhari power about 606 A.D.

Grahavarman, already stated, was the last great Maukhari ruler of imperial dignity. Probably some members of the family continued to rule over small principalities first The Later Maukharis as feudatories of Harsha who absorbed the Maukhari territories to his own, and then as independent or semi-independent rulers during the days of confusion which followed the death of Harsha. Yuan Chwang

speaks of one *Pūrnavarman*. Cunningham argues¹ that he might be a Maukhari king. If the identification is correct, he must have been a vassal chief of Harsha. The name of another Maukhari prince, *Bhogavarman*, appears in an inscription of Jayadeva II, of the Lichchhavi branch of the Nepal kings. The inscription is dated Harsha Samvat 153 = 759 A.D., and records that Bhogavarman was the son-in-law of Ādityasena of Magadha. He must have been a sufficiently important man to have been sought by Ādityasena as a son-in-law. No other record of their activity or their relationship with the imperial Maukharis are available anywhere.

GENEALOGY OF THE MAUKHARIS

There are two groups of Maukhari rulers whose names are found from inscriptions and literature. The founder of the first line [A] was Yajñavarman recorded in the Baiābai Hill Cave Inscriptions. The second line [B] can be drawn from the Asirgaḍ Copper seal inscriptions and the *Harshacharita*.



¹ A. S. I. R. XV, p. 166.

CHAPTER XIII

HARSHAVARDHANA

[606-647 A.D.]

*Account given of Harsha
Incomplete.*

Sources : Literary

1. The *Harshcharita* by Bāṇa.
2. Records of the Chinese traveller,
Yuan Chwang [Waters and
Beil].

Epigraphic

3. Sonpat Copper-seal Inscription
of Harsha [Fleet, No. 52].
4. The Bānskhera-plate of Harsha
[Ep. Ind. IV, pp. 208-11].
5. The Madhubana Copper-plate
of Harsha [Ib. I, pp. 67-75].
6. The Nālandā Seals [Ep. Ind.,
XXI, April, 1931, pp. 74-76].
7. The Aihole Inscription of
Pulakesin II [Ep. Ind. VI,
pp. 1-12].
8. Harsha by Dr. R. K. Mookerji.
9. History of Kanauj by Dr. R. S.
Tripathi.

Secondary

10. Pires : The Maukhaliis, pp. 1-12].

With the rise of Harshavardhana, India emerged from the state of chaos and confusion referred to in the last chapter. The sixth century A.D. was one of the darkest periods in the history of India when the dismemberment of the country into smaller independent states, lack of cohesion under a strong central authority invited the invasion of the Hūnas who, as we have seen, devasted the country and destroyed the relics of Gupta civilisation. The powerful hand of Harshavardhana not only stopped this course

of dismemberment but built up a powerful empire, established peace and order and gave to the people under his rule the benefits of an enlightened administration and patronage to culture.

Harshavardhana was a prince of the royal House of Thānenesvara. His elder brother was Rājyavardhana, the father

Early Life Prabhākara-vardhana and the sister Rājyaśī who was married to King Grahavarman of Kanauj.

Being thus allied to the king of Kanauj, Prabhākara-vardhana waged successful wars against the Mālavās, the Hūnas of North-western Punjab and the Gurjaras of Rājputānā. In 604 when Prabhākara-vardhana sent out an expedition under Rājyavardhana to chastise the Hūnas, the young Harshavardhana also accompanied him to receive his baptism in fire. In the battle-field, the two brothers heard the sad news that their father had been suddenly taken ill and died. Rājyavardhana had already defeated the Hūnas. He hastily returned to the capital and was crowned king. But troubles soon thickened for the newly crowned king. Hardly had he sat on the throne than the distressing news came that the king of Mālwā in alliance with King Śāśāṅka of Bengal, had invaded the Maukhari capital Kanauj, killed his brother-in-law, Grahavarman and kept his sister Rājyaśī a prisoner. Thereupon Rājyavardhana at once marched with a force of 10,000 troops to avenge the wrong done to his sister. He met an advance-guard of the enemy under the king of Mālwā and defeated him. But he failed to take Kanauj and recover his sister. Soon after he himself was killed by Śāśāṅka. Rājyaśī, however, managed to flee from her prison into the wilds of the Vindhya.

Thus the early life of Harshavardhana was spent amidst wars and family misfortunes. The lessons were not entirely lost upon

Accession 606 A.D. him. With a scholarly and religious bent of mind, Harshavardhana most reluctantly accepted

the position of kingship left vacant by his elder brother's unexpected death. But once on the throne, the young

king, about sixteen years old, set his mind on restoring the shaken fortunes of his family and bringing the whole of Northern India under his rule. He commemorated his accession in 606 A.D. by founding a new era known as the Harsha era.

Immediately after his accession, he rescued his widowed sister from the forest home in the Vindhya.

His Wars and Conquests He then proceeded on a career of conquest to the east to avenge

the death of his brother. He evidently annexed his widowed sister's kingdom to his own and removed his capital to Kanauj. He readily accepted an offer of an alliance by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa who wanted to safeguard his position against the aggrandisement of Śāśāṅka, the king of Bengal. That this alliance was somewhat of the nature of a subordinate alliance is evident from the fact that the ruler of Kāmarūpa was present in Harsha's Kanauj Assembly with 20,000 elephants. He organised a mobile and formidable force of 5,000 elephants 20,000 horse and 50,000 infantry which he kept constantly on war-footing for five and a half years. At the end of that period, that is, by 612 A.D. he made himself master of the whole of Upper India except the Punjab, part of Bengal and Orissa. There is no doubt that Bengal was under the rule of Śāśāṅka for a considerable time after 612, as the Gañjām Plate conclusively shows that Orissa was within the dominion of Śāśāṅka at least up to 619 A.D. Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhī [Western Mālwā] was signally defeated and in his distress sued for peace which was granted on the terms that he should marry Harsha's daughter and reign in his kingdom as a feudatory prince under him. The dependencies of Valabhī, Cutch, and Suratha [Surat] also came under Harsha's rule. As a result of his wars and conquests, he was able to build up an empire.

His empire included the whole of the basin of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the Narbadā, besides Mālwā and Gujārāt.

Extent of his Empire

Besides, the distant kings of Assam in the extreme east and of Valabhī in the extreme west, acknowledged the suzerainty of Harsha.

maintained diplomatic relations with China. He sent a Biāhman envoy to the Emperor of China in 641 A.D. In 643 that envoy returned accompanied by a Chinese Mission bearing a reply to Haisha's despatch and remained in India until 645 A.D. when he returned to China. Next year the Chinese sovereign sent a new mission under Wang-hien-tse who had accompanied the earlier mission.

• The Harsha-Pulakesin War

The only check that Haisha received in his career of conquest was from Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya king of the Deccan. Yuan Chwang states [Watters II, 239] "the great king Śilāditya at this time was invading east and west and countries far and near were giving allegiance to him, but *Mo-bū-la-chā* [Mahārāshṭra] refused to become subject to him, under the great king Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin had made himself the Lord Paramount of the South by his extensive conquests; rivalling those of Harsha in the North. In the *Life* of Yuan Chwang is stated that Śilāditya Rājā marched with his troops to contend with Pulakeśin, but was unable to subjugate him [Beal, p. 147]. This account of the Chinese traveller is corroborated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II in S.E. 556 = A.D. 634. In his characteristic style the poet Ravikirti describes the event of this battle in the following verse thus : " Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arranged with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Pulakeśin had his joy [*barsha*] melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of loidly elephants fallen in battle " [Ind. Ant. VIII]. Another verse in the same inscription shows that the battle was fought on the banks of the Revā [Naīmadā]. Further corroborations of this defeat of Harsha by Pulakeśin are obtained by many other inscriptions of this dynasty in which Pulakeśin has always been referred to as defeating the glorious Sri Haisha, the lord of the

whole northern country, in consequence of which he acquired the second title of Paramośvara.¹

Nepal and Kashmir

The two border states of Nepal and Kaśmir were probably outside the empire of Harsha. Some scholars hold that Harsha's conquests extended to Nepal, from the assumption that his era was in use there [Bhagavan Lal Indraji and Bühler in I.A., XIV, p. 420]. Dr. R. K. Mookerji [Harsha, pp. 30, 39 and 40] seems inclined to identify Nepal or Kaśmir with the inaccessible land of snowy mountains'. His bias for acceptance of Kaśmir as a dependency of Harsha on the above quotation is also proved by his references to the writings of Yuan Chwang relating to Kaśmir as recorded in Watters I, 259 and in his *Life*. Dr. Mookerji concludes : "The *Life* tells of an episode . . . which shows that Kaśmir in a way acknowledged the suzerainty of Harsha : the episode of Harsha compelling the king of Kaśmir to part with a relic of Buddha. Bāna refers to 'the inaccessible land of snowy mountains'² subdued by Harsha himself; and these phrases might signify Kaśmir also." [Harsha, p. 40]. He has already stated [ib. p. 30] that this land "might mean Nepal."

Dr. Sylvian Levi does not accept the opinion of Bhagawan Lal Indraji and Bühler on the ground that "Nepal at that time was a dependency of Tibet, which after Harsha's death, helped Nepal in supporting the Chinese envoy Wang-hiuen-tse in his expedition against the usurper of Harsha's throne".³ Moreover, the use of the Harsha era by a country does not necessarily prove that Nepal was a dependency of Harsha. Nepal was a close neighbour to Harsha's empire in the north-east. We do not know the provenance of those inscriptions containing Harsha era. They were

¹ Samara sāṃsakta sakalottarā-patheśvara Śri Harshavardhana-parājayopalabdhaparameśvāraparāṇāmadbyayāḥ.

² Hc., Cowell and Thomas, pp. 100-1.

³ Harsha, p. 31.

probably in those parts of the Nepal territory which were conterminous with Harsha's empire. It may be that the Nepal king adopted the Harsha sāmīvat for those official epigraphs as being widely known and understood by the people of those particular localities of the inscription. This does not meet in any way the arguments of Dr. Sylvian Levi, as cited before. Dr. Mookerji seems very much inclined to interpret the passage in the Harshacharita "atra paramesvareṇa tushāra-sarlobhuvo durgāyā grihita karab"¹ to include as Harsha's dependencies Nepal or Kaśmīr, particularly the latter, as his quoting the Chinese evidences of the episode of Haisha and the king of Kaśmīr shows. We have seen above that Haisha's sovereignty in Nepal was negatived by S. Levi and other researchers. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang has always spoken of Kaśmīr as an independent state. Rājataranginī also treats of the country as such. The episode in the *Life* stated above proves nothing of the subordinate relationship of the king of Kaśmīr. At least it does not prove that Kaśmīr was not an independent and sovereign state. Then the question arises what is that 'inaccessible land of snowy mountains' referred to in the *Harshacharita*? There is, no doubt, that Harsha's empire comprised the whole of the present U. P., including its northern and north-eastern districts of Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Rampur, Muradabad, Bijnor, Shahjanpur, Dehradun and Haidwāl. The provenance of his Banskhera inscription is Shahjahanpur. It is not improbable that some of the hill-stations adjacent to these parts namely Gaihwāl and Kumaun districts, whose peaks lie covered in snow for most part of the year and which were undoubtedly included in his empire gave the poet the inspiration for the passage.

Harsha and Śasanka

Śasāṅka, the king of Bengal [Gauda] was a great contemporary of Harsha. We have seen that Śasāṅka was an ally of Devagupta, the ruler of Eastern Mālwā, when the latter attacked and

¹ "Here, the overlord exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains."

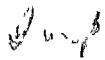
destroyed the power of Grahavarman of Kannauj. Harsha-Charita, our only source of information of the fact, stated above, further tells us that when Rājyavardhana, king of Thanesvara and brother-in-law of Grahavarman avenged the latter's death by defeating the king of Mālwā, Śāśāṅka invited him by false promises to his quarters and killed him there. Bāṇa prepares us for a great fight between Śāśāṅka and Harsha when he tells us that Harsha's *dīgvijaya* commenced with elaborate preparations for war against the Gauḍa king whom he stigmatised as the 'vilest of Gaudas,' 'the vile Gauḍa serpent.' But regarding the actual fight Bāṇa is completely silent. Neither do we get any positive information of any actual fight between the two rulers from the Chinese source either. All that Yuan Chwang says relates to the persecution of Buddhism by Śāśāṅka. He says that Śāśāṅka, the king of Kāṭha-Suvarṇa was a persecutor of Buddhism, broke up the Buddhist monasteries between Kuśinagara and Vārāṇasī, threw the stones of Pāṭaliputra showing the Buddhist footprints into the Ganges, cut down the Bodhi tree at Gayā, destroyed its roots down to the water and terraced what remained and tried to violate the Buddhist temple thereby replacing the image of the Buddha by that of Śiva [Watters, II]. Śāśāṅka was just dead when Yuan Chwang visited the Bodhi tree about 637 A.D.

It seems, however as Mr. R. D. Banerji [History of Bengal in Bengali] suggests that the offer of alliance to Harsha [Supra, p. 314] from the distant king of Kāmarūpa was really due to the latter's hostility to the Gauḍa king Śāśāṅka. This alliance was eagerly welcomed by Harsha whose grievance against Śāśāṅka was equally strong and which also fitted with his plan of *dīgvijaya*. The result, as Mr. Banerji suggests, must have been the defeat of Śāśāṅka and the loss of Kannauj as well as Bengal which was annexed by Harsha and ultimately passed on to Bhāskaravarman after Harsha's death.

Probably Śāśāṅka reigned after the loss of Kāṭha-Suvarṇa and retained his hold in some parts in the eastern coast up to at least A.D. 619 as can be gathered from the Gañjam Plate inscription of that year [Ep. Ind., VI., 143] in which one of his feudatories

ruling on the east coast mentions Śāśāṅka as a Mahāśājādhīrāja. Yuan Chwang refers to a successful expedition against the Kongada [Gañjām] country in the east coast of which, according to the epigraphic record cited above, Śāśāṅka was the sovereign lord. This expedition was launched by Harsha about 643 A.D. after Śāśāṅka was dead. Bāna refers to Śāśāṅka's sphere of political influence by using the term *Śāśāṅka Mandala* in which he was shining in full glory. This must have included in his best days the whole of Bengal, some parts of Bihar and Orissa. It threatened the independence of Kāmarūpa in the east under Bhāskaravarman, and Kanauj in the west under Grahavarman, with what reactions and ultimate result we have already shown.

Śāśāṅka probably worked his way up from a comparatively humbler position of a mere chief. An inscription [Fleet, No. 78] designates him as the 'Mahā-Sāmanta Śāśāṅkadeva.' He has also issued a seal in Rohtasgaḍ. [Bihar] as a Mahāsāmanta. But by 655-66 A.D., he became a great power indeed in the east, Lord of Karnasuvarna [Bengal, and some parts of Bihar and Orissa. His sphere of influence which Bāna describes as Śāśāṅka Mahādala thus extended over a large territory. It threatened in the east the independence of Kāmarūpa under Bhāskaravarman and in the west Kanauj under Grahavarman with the results already noticed. Śāśāṅka was a strict Brāhmaṇist and a follower of the Saiva cult, as his gold coins show. This explains his hostility to Buddhism which he greatly persecuted, if the Chinese pilgrim is to be believed. He issued gold coins under the title of Śri Śāśāṅka. On the obverse of these coins is found Śiva reclining on his bull Nandi, and behind him the disc of the moon and the legend Śāśāṅka. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing on lotus [Allan, Gupta Coins, p. 147].



Harsha's Administration

Administrative Tools
Harsha's administration was based on benign principles and was intensely personal in character. Instead of relying on the services of a trained bureaucracy alone, he personally supervised the administration.

He was always on tour from province to province looking into the details of administration in each, punishing the evil-doers and rewarding the meritorious. Yuan Chwang tells us that while on the move, he made travelling palaces made of boughs and reeds at each halting place and that his marches were like state processions accompanied by hundreds of drummers, who beat a note on golden drums for each step taken. No other king was allowed to have such musical drums.

For the purpose of administration the whole of the empire was divided into *Bhuktis* [provinces], *Vishyas* [Districts], and *Grāmas* [villages].

Administrative Divisions and Designations of Offices The Madhubana Inscription of Harsha mentions the *grāma* of Somi Kundakā, in the Vishaya of Kundashāuli, in the Bhukti of Ahicchhatra. We have seen in the Gupta inscriptions that the viceroys and governors of the

Gupta Emperors were called *Uparikas*, *Mahārājas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, etc. Probably Harsha followed the same system of names with slight or no variations. The Madhuban Plate provides us with the names of certain offices, e.g., *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, and *Vishayapatis*. The *Mahāsāmantas* or *Mahārājas* were, of course, the local hereditary chiefs ruling their states under the aegis of the Emperor. They thus acted as ordinary Governors or *Uparikas*. The *Vishayapati* was the chief officer of the district, his headquarters [as we have in the Basāih seals] being called *Adhishtānas* [offices and courts]. The *grāma* was the unit of administration, its headman was called the *grāmika*. Another important office of the village administration was the same as in the Gupta bureaucratic system. The keeper of land and other records, *Pustapāla* of the Dāmodarapur Inscriptions is the *Pustakarī* in the *Harshacharita* [p. 47]. The *lekkakas* of the Gupta period were called *Karanikas* [clerks] in the *Harshacharita*. Besides these officers with specific functions, a class of officers called 'general superintendents' [*Sarvādhyakshas*]¹ were perhaps equivalent to the *Alabyakshas* mentioned in the *Harshacharita* [p. 254].

¹ Fleet, N 'O-55

Maintenance of Departmental registers was a special feature of Harsha's administration. Special officers Departmental Records were appointed to keep official records of all public events, good or bad, of both calamities or fortunate occurrences.

Revenues of state were drawn from various sources. The rents from crown lands amounting to 1/6th Sources of Revenue of the produce was the principal source.

Presents from those who had occasion to see the king were another source of income. Custom was another source. We gather from the Madhuban inscription that there is a tax on the things sold. It seems that the merchants were required to pay some additional tolls at the ferries and fords on the rivers and at many points on the highways. On the whole taxation was light. Officials received grants of lands instead of pay. Personal service exacted from the subjects was moderate in amount.

Criminal Law

Criminal law was more severe than that of the Guptas. Roads were less safe than in the time of Fa-hien's visit. Mutilation as a mode of punishment, abandoned by the Guptas, was awarded now. Trial by ordeal also existed.

Charities and Institution of Public benefits Liberal provision was made for charity to various religious communities. Like Aśoka, he set up innumerable benevolent institutions for the benefits of travellers, the poor and the sick. Rest houses were built in both towns and villages and provided with food and drink, also medicine in charge of qualified physicians to treat those who fell sick there. Like his prototype Aśoka, he also endowed many religious establishments for the benefits of both Hindus and Buddhists. His charitable distributions at the quinquennial Assembly at Prayāga are unique in character in as much as he made himself a pauper there. Six times did he thus give away his accumulations at Prayāga. His smaller charities were innumerable.

Harshavardhana commanded a large standing army composed of 5,000 elephants, 20,000, cavalry and 50,000 infantry. During

Yuan Chwang's visit, the cavalry had gone up to Defence. 100,000 and the elephant corps to 60,000. There

was also a camel corps. Besides, troops were supplied by tributary and allied princes. For instance, Kumāra of Kāmrūpa visited Harsha with 2000 elephants. According to Bāṇa, Harsha acquired a good many elephants as presents from tributary princes.¹ Horses were imported from the western regions, such as Sind, modern Afghanistan and Persia. Besides the regular military officers there were Superintendents of barracks. Royal stables were managed by a large staff of fodderers, grooms and overseers.² Yuan Chwang states that recruitment was made by public proclamation stating the remuneration for recruits. The royal guards were recruited from heroes of proved valour. They formed a sort of hereditary military aristocracy.³ Frontiers were properly guarded and towns were enclosed by walls⁴.

Education received careful attention of Harsha. Government gave liberal grants towards the spread of literacy and infusion of

Education and Literature higher learning. He encouraged monasteries and higher seats of learning where innumerable monks and Brāhmans received education. A number of literary men of whom Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the greatest lived in his court and enjoyed the royal patronage. Harsha himself was a literary man of high merit and an accomplished calligraphist. Among the works composed by him, three Sanskrit plays, the *Nāgānanda*, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* still exist to testify to the literary attainments of the royal author. Bāṇa, the court-poet, wrote his famous book, the *Harsha Charita*, a historical romance containing a panegyric account of the deeds of

¹ *Hc.* p. 66.

² Watters, II. p. 343; Beal I. p. 230.

³ Ib. I. p. 171.

⁴ Beal, I. p. 87.

Harsha. Allowing for the childish exaggerations of the virtues and unworthy flatteries of the royal panegyrist, the book is evidence of the high standard of the Sanskrit literature which a really capable writer could produce and is a valuable contemporary literary source of history.

Harsha's Religion

It is difficult to say what religion Harsha actually belonged to, although it is clear that he had leanings towards Buddhism and was partial to it. In his personal conduct, he practised the Buddhist law of life and like Aśoka strictly enforced the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of life of animals. As already stated, his benevolent activities for the good of humanity were carried on Aśokan model. His father Piabhākaravardhana was devoted to the worship of the sun, but Harsha distributed his devotions among the three deities, the Sun, the Śiva and the Buddha and erected costly temples for the service of all three. During his time Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmaṇical Hinduism flourished side by side and the followers of the various religions lived peacefully together. It is probable that the king sought to win universal popularity from all sections of his subjects as well as divine support by doing honour to the principal gods of popular worship. This fact alone accounts for the apparent eclecticism in Harsha's religion. We have it on the testimony of Yuan Chwang that in the Assembly at Prayāga, Harsha worshipped the image of the Buddha on the first day, the image of the Sun on the second day and that of Śiva on the third day. There is, however, evidence to suppose that in Harsha's closing years, Buddhism received the chief share of the royal favour. Innumerable monasteries and stūpas were built up along the banks of the sacred Ganges. His leanings towards Buddhism were certainly strengthened by his meeting with Yuan Chwang while he was in camp in Bengal.

The Assembly which Harsha held on the occasion of Yuan Chwang's visit to his capital and his quinquennial assemblies at Prayāga bear ample testimony to the emperor's devotion to Buddhism and respect

Assembly at
Kanauj

for the other two faiths stated above. Both these assemblies have been graphically described by Yuan Chwang as follows: Harsha received his valued guest Yuan Chwang at his camp in Bengal. He determined to hold a great Assembly at Kanauj in his reception. In order to give the utmost publicity of the Master's teaching, he organised a unique religious procession from Bengal right up to his capital city Kanauj. The king accompanied by Yuan Chwang led the march along the southern bank of the Ganges. A train of no less than eighteen tributary kings, many thousands of Buddhist monks and an enormous multitude kept the train. His ally, the king of Kāmarūpa, with a large but less numerous following kept pace with him on the opposite bank. By a slow march of about six miles or so per day, the Emperor reached Kanauj in the course of ninety days. The king of Kāmarūpa, who had reached the capital earlier and the Rājā of Valabhī, received the Emperor at the western gate.

In the capital, a splendid monastery with a shrine was specially erected upon the banks of the Ganges. In that monastery was also built a tower 100 feet high in which was kept a golden statue of the Buddha, equal in size of the king's statue. Another golden Statue 3 feet high was carried daily in procession headed by Harsha and followed by twenty Rājās and three hundred elephants. Harsha, as he moved along, scattered on every side, pearls, golden flowers and other precious substances in honour of the 'Three Jewels,' *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*. Then he washed the image at the altar with his own hands, bore it on his shoulders to the western tower and there offered to it thousands of silken robes, embroidered with gems. These ceremonies lasted for seventy-five days.¹

The Assembly at Prayāga was held every five years by Harsha.

The one that was held, after the Assembly at
The Assembly at Prayaga Kanauj, in 643 A.D. and to which Yuan

Chwang was also invited was the sixth of its kind. This Assembly, like the previous one, was also attended

¹ E.H.I., 4th Ed., p. 364.

by all the vassal kings. Besides half a million people, including poor orphans and destitutes, invited Brāhmans and ascetics attended the ceremony which continued for seventy five days with great eclat. The religious ceremonies were eclectic, characteristic of the times. Three special days were reserved for performing three popular forms of worship. On the first day, the image of the Buddha received honour of the highest class, the images of the Sun and the Śiva were worshipped on the second and third day respectively. On each day of worship and on subsequent days, charities were distributed on a lavish scale. Monks, Brāhmans, ascetics, poor and destitutes all came for a substantial share of the king's charity, so that, at the end, he exhausted the accumulations of five years and paupered himself so completely that he had to beg from his sister [Rājyaśrī] an ordinary second-hand garment to put on and rejoiced that his treasure had been all spent in the cause of religion.

Yuan Chwang left his royal host at Prayāga on his return journey home. This was the last quinquennial assembly which Harsha lived to participate in, for he died at the beginning of 647 A.D., four years after the Prayāga Assembly.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM THE DEATH OF HARSHA TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

The death of Harsha was quickly followed by the disruption of the empire which Harsha had so laboriously built up. Harsha did not leave behind him an heir to the throne, Effect of Harsha's Death. which was usurped by his minister Arjuna.

It is related in a Chinese book that the head of the Chinese envoy, Wang-hiu-en-tse, who visited shortly after Harsha's death, was attacked, his goods plundered and some of his attendants killed. Wang-hiu-en-tse managed to escape with his life to Nepal. The Tibetan king Strong-tsang-Gampo, who was married to a Chinese princess, gave him troops with which he captured Tirthut, defeated Arjuna in a series of battles and took him prisoner to China. The description of the empire which thus began continued and within a short time after Harsha's death, numerous independent kingdoms sprang up. From this time on until the Muhammadan conquest, the unity of the empire was lost, the imperial history of India took the place of dynastic histories of many important states.

THE THREE BORDER STATES

The three border states of Kāmarūpa [Assam], Nepal and Kaśmir claim our attention first.

Located at one corner of India and protected by natural barriers, the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa retained her independence even during the Mauryan rule. In the fourth century A.D., it acknowledged the over-lordship of and paid taxes to the Gupta kings but retained its autonomy in internal administration. In the seventh century A.D. the

king of Kāmarūpa was Bhāskaravarman. Dreading the rising power of Śāśāṅka, Bhāskaravarman entered into a friendly alliance with Harshavardhana who, he knew, was an enemy of Śāśāṅka. After the death of Śāśāṅka, Bhāskaravarman came to be looked upon more as a feudatory vassal than an equal ally. This is proved by the fact that when Bhāskaravarman refused to send the Chinese pilgrim who was then living with him to Harsha, the latter threatened due punishment and the former yielded and afterwards attended the Kanauj and Allahabad Assemblies along with other of Harsha's vassal princes. After the death of Harsha, Bhāskaravarman asserted his independence which, however did not last long. A barbarian, Śilastambha by name, overpowered him and Kāmarūpa passed under Mlechha rule for nearly three hundred years.

Nepal was included in the empire of Aśoka. It was outside the Kushāna empire but acknowledged the sovereignty of Samudragupta. In the seventh century, it came under the influence of Tibet and after Harsha's death, fully passed under Tibetan rule for half a century. In A.D. 703, the Nepalese asserted their independence by defeating and killing the ruler of Tibet.

Enclosed by mountain barriers, the valley of Kaśmīr has ordinarily remained politically isolated from India except during the Mauryan and Kushāna periods. Aśoka held sway over it and Buddhism spread in the country during his rule. Kanishka also ruled the valley as part of his empire and held his great council of the Buddhists in Kundalavana Vihāra there. In the first quarter of the sixth century A.D., the terrible Hūna leader, after being defeated by Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Yaśodharman, took refuge in Kaśmīr. The king of Kaśmīr received him kindly and placed in his charge a small territory. But the traitor soon killed his benefactor and seized the throne. But he did not live long to enjoy his ill-gotten gains, having died a year after his treacherous crime. In the seventh century, a powerful Hindu dynasty arose in Kaśmīr. The founder of this

dynasty was *Durlabhavardhana*. It was during his rule that the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwing visited Kaśmīr. His son and successor Pratāpāditya built the town of Pratāpapura. The greatest king of the dynasty was *Lalitāditya Muktipida* who ascended the throne about 624 A.D. He conquered the Punjab, Kanauj as well as Dardistan and Kabul. The beautiful Mārtand temple dedicated to the Sun god was built in his reign. After his death [about 760 A.D.], Kaśmīr lost its foreign possessions and sank into obscurity. At the close of the eighth century, *Jayāpiṭa* tried to recover the lost fortunes of his house but failed. In the twelfth century, its king *Jayasimha* [1127-1155 A.D.] recovered some of its lost prestige. He was the patron of the famous historian and poet *Kalhana* of Kaśmīr. In the fourteenth century, it passed under the rule of a Muhammadan adventurer, Shah Amir, who conquered Kaśmīr about 1340 and founded a new dynasty which retained its independence until 1586 when it was conquered by Akbar.

The most outstanding feature in this period was the rise of the warlike race of the Rājputs and foundation of numerous Rājput kingdoms in North India. During the

Rise of the Rajputs periods preceding and following the supremacy of first and the last Gupta dynasty, many foreign races like the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Hūṇas had come to India, settled in the country and merged in the older population, having adopted the manners, customs and religion of their Hindu neighbours. These Hinduised foreigners formed a new race in which the warlike qualities of the sturdy peoples of Central Asia were united with their devotion to, and pride, in the Hindu religion and traditions. The chiefs of these new races claimed their descent from the old Hindu gods, the Sun, the Moon and Agni etc. The Hindu priests found in them the firmest upholders of Hinduism. And since government and fighting were their chief occupations, they were recognised by the Hindu priests as Kshatriyas. The chiefs and their followers called themselves Rājputs [Rājputras or 'princes']. Thus the new Kshatriyas and the Rājputs became identical terms,

and the portions of northern plains originally settled by them got the name of Rājputānā.

One of these Rājput races was the Gujjaras who in the first half of the eighth century ruled Eastern Rājputānā and Mālwā. The

The ruling family belonged to the Pratihāra clan and Gujjara-Pratihāra hence the dynasty of king is known in history as Kings of Kanauj, the **Gurjara Pratihāra**. The Arabs who had conquered Sind in 712 A.D. despatched about 725 A.D. a formidable force which having overran Cutch, Kāthiāwār, Northern Gujarat and Southern Rājputānā, knocked at the gates of Western Mālwā. The Pratihāra chief, Nāgabhata gave them a crushing defeat and thus saved Northern India from the earliest Muhammadan invaders. This explains more than anything else why the earliest Muhammadan invaders of India, the Afghans, remained confined to that desert without penetrating into the heart of India. Nearly a century later his descendant Nāgabhata invaded the Gangetic region and conquered Kanauj. The capital of this enlarged kingdom was then transferred from Ujjain to Kanauj. They remained in possession of Kanauj for two centuries until 1018-19 when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni occupied the city. Nāgabhata's grandson, Mihira Bhoja was a powerful king of this dynasty. He enjoyed a long period of reign [c. 840-90 A.D.] over an extensive dominion, almost an empire, which included the cis-Sutlaj districts of the Punjab, most of Rājputānā, the greater part of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory. Being a worshipper of Vishnu, Mihira Bhoja assumed the title of *Ādīvarāha*, one of the incarnations of Vishnu. Base silver coins inscribed with that title have been found abundantly in different parts of Northern India. Their abundance and provenance prove the long duration and wide extent of Bhoja rule. After Mihira Bhoja's death, his son Mahendrapāla reigned for about two decades with undiminished prestige. During his reign, the great Prākṛit poet, Rājśekhara, the author of *Karpūramāṇjari* lived in his court. He was succeeded first by his eldest son Bhoja II who died early and then by his younger son Mahipāla. The greatness of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj

began to wane from his reign. In 916 A.D. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, invaded Kanauj² and captured it. Mahipāla in his distress, sought and obtained the help of the Chandella king of Jejākabhukti and recovered Kanauj. The next noteworthy king *Devapāla* [c. 940-55 A.D.] lost the fort of Kalanjar to the Chandella king Yaśovarman and also had to surrender to him the much-prized image of Vishnu which was the deity of his house. During the reign of his successor, *Vijayapāla* [c. A.D. 955-60], Gwalior became independent. His son and successor, *Rājyapāla* joined the confederacy of Hindu princes to oppose Sabuktigin and shared their defeat in 991 and finally in 1008 A.D. near the Kurram Valley. Early in 1019 Sabuktigin's son and successor the famous Mahmud Ghazni invaded Kanauj which fell into his hand rather easily. *Rājyapāla* who played the part of a coward retired to the other side of the Ganges leaving Kanauj in the hands of the victor. The names of the only two of his successors are known to history—*Trilochanapāla* and *Yusopāla*, who ruled over a much truncated kingdom of Kanauj. The former figures as the author of the Jhansi Plate Inscription granting this village to a Brāhmaṇ and the latter in the Kara Inscription granting the village of Pabhosā near Kausambi to a resident of that place.¹

About the end of the eleventh century, Kanauj passed under the rule of the Gaharwār or Rāthor dynasty whose founder was

Chandradeva. His grandson *Govindachandra* The Gaharwār dynasty of Kanauj [1114-60] restored to a large extent the ancient glories of Kanauj as his numerous land grants and widely circulated coins prove. The fifth and last king of this dynasty was *Jayachandra* [A.D. 1160-93] or better known as *Jaichānd* in the popular Hindi poems and tales of Northern India. His bitter feud with his cousin, the war-like Prithvirāja of Ajmer, in which other princes also were implicated as allies on both sides, gave the famous Muhammad Ghori the long-sought opportunity to invade Hindustan. His first invasion entirely failed,

¹ Both these inscriptions have been adequately noticed in the author's book *An Early History of Kausambi*, pp. 95-99.

his host being decisively defeated by Prithvirāja in the field of Tīrouri or Tarain near Thāneśwai [A.D. 1191]. Two years later, Muhammad Ghori returned to the attack and defeated Prithvirāja on the same battle-field [A.D. 1193]. The victory was followed by the capture of Ajmer and Delhi and was the beginning of the systematic conquest of India by the Muhammadans. In none of these two battles did Jaichand lend his powerful support but kept away in foolish petulance born of personal jealousy of Prithvirāja. From Delhi, Muhammad Ghori marched against Jaichand and defeated him on the banks of the Jumna near Etawah. Jaichand paid the price of his folly and unpatriotism with his defeat and death, being killed in battle. The victory was followed by the capture and sack of Kanauj and Benares. From now onward the story of the independent kingdom of Kanauj under Hindu Rājas was over. The city of Kanauj, as we have seen, played an important part as the capital of Harsha's empire and then during the intervening centuries as the centre of the greatest political activity in Northern India under the rule of the Gujara-Pratihāra dynasty and then of Gaharwār dynasty.

The ancient name of Bundelkhand was Jejākabhukti. It was included in the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. In the ninth century A.D. the **Chandella** chief Yaśovarman The Chandellas of Bundelkhand established an independent kingdom there and conquered Kālañjara which became the strong hold of his kingdom. Mahobā was chosen as the capital. Besides the founder of the kingdom, the most eminent members of the dynasty were *Dhaṅga* and *Kirtivarman*. The former joined the Northern League against Mahmud of Ghaznī and the latter overthrew Karna, the powerful ruler of Chedi. Klītivaiman was a patron of learning. An interesting play entitled the *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* was produced and acted in the royal court. His memory is also preserved by a beautiful lake of the name of Kirat Sāgara, situated near Mahobā. The last Chandella Rājā to enjoy independence was *Paramal* who first submitted to Prithvirāja Chauhān in 1182 and then to Kutmud-din in 1203 A.D.

The Chandella princes were great builders. In addition to the beautiful lake near Mahobā whose construction is attributed to

Kirtivarman, a number of splendid temples built by them still exist at Khajurāho.

The Kalachuri dynasty of Chedi ruled over the region south of the Narmadā and north of the Godāvarī. Tripuri¹ near Jubbalpore was their capital. They also like the Chandella were at first subordinate to the Pratihāras and asserted their independence in the middle of the 10th century. The founder of this independent kingdom was *Lakshmayarāja* who is described as a conqueror and a hero. About the middle of the 11th century, the Chedi chief, *Karpa* was humbled by the Chandella King Kirtivarman. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Chedi possessions were lost by the rise of independent dynasties of the Gaṇapatis of Warangal, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Baghela Rājputs who named their region on the Narbadā Baghelkhanda.

Another Rājput State, that of the **Paramaras of Malwa**, rose on the ruins of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. The founder of

the dynasty was a chief named *Upendra* [c. 820 A.D.]. The Paramaras of Mālwā are noted for their patronage to learning. The seventh Rājā, named Muñja [A.D. 974-95] was a great patron of poets and was himself a poet of no small reputation. The two famous writers, Dhanañjaya and Dhanika lived in his court. The most famous king of this dynasty was Bhoja, popularly known as *Rājā Bhoja* of Dhārā which was at that time the capital of Mālwā. He ruled for forty-two years [A.D. 1018-60]. Like Muñja he was an unstinted partion of learning. He himself was a learned author of many valuable works on astronomy, architecture, the art of poetry and other subjects. He constructed a beautiful lake, the Bhojpur lake, which is situated south-east of Bhopal and occupies an area of 250 square miles. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway. He founded a famous Sanskrit College whose

¹ In 1939 Tripuri, now reduced to a village had the distinction of being the venue of the 54th session of the Indian National Congress.

site is now occupied by a mosque at Dhāra. It is no wonder that Rājā Bhoja figures as a most enlightened king in history and fables. This accomplished prince fell a victim to an attack of the confederate kings of Gujurāt and Chedi. He was presumably the last independent ruler of the dynasty which lasted as a purely local power until the beginning of the 13th century when it passed over the rule of the Tomāra dynasty and then of the Chauhāns.

The **Chauhan clan** of Rajputs ruled the principalities of Sambhar and Ajmer. In the middle of the 9th century, the Chauhan chief *Vigraha-rāya* also known as Visaladeva, conquered Delhi from the Tomāra chief. He was a famous author and a great patron of literature. He was succeeded by his nephew, the famous *Prithvirāja Chauhan* who played a conspicuous part in the history of India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest. The exploits of Pṛithivīrāja or Rai Pithore, famous in song and story, have been immortalised by his court poet Chand Bardai in his grand epic, *Prithvirāja Rāso*.

The Chauhanas
of Ajmer and
Delhi

There was a great rivalry between him and Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj who proved to be his sworn and implacable enemy. The story goes that the accomplished daughter of Jaichand, Samyuktā had developed tender feelings for Pṛithivīrāja, tales of whose brave deeds had reached her. Rājā Jaichand held a *svayamvara* ceremony of his daughter to which were invited all the princes except Pṛithvirāja who was represented by a statue to serve as a gate-keeper. The fathers' intention to insult her lover was, however, frustrated by Samyuktā who placed the nuptial garland round the neck of the statue. During the night, Pṛithivīrāja, who was present in the city in disguise, carried her off after overcoming all oppositions. In A.D. 1182, he captured Mahobā, the capital of the Chandella Rājā Pāṇḍāl. Thus ruling over Sambhar, Ajmer, Delhi and Bundelkhand, he was looked upon as the greatest king in Northern India. But the greatest reputation of Pṛithvirāja rests on his gallant resistance to the flood of Muhammadan invasion led by Muhammad of Ghor.

This remarkable man who laid the foundation of Muhammadan rule in India was the chief of Ghor, a mountainous country to the east of Herat. It was at first a dependency of the kingdom of Ghazni. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni nearly two hundred years before Sihābuddin Ghoī had invaded India, not less than seventeen times [1001-34 A.D.], sacked the cities of India, including Kanauj, Benares and Somanātha, was a mere raider and plunderer. He had built and beautified his capital Ghazni with the rich booty he had taken from India. The only permanent foot-hold he had left in India was the Punjab. About the middle of the 12th century A.D., hostility broke out between the House of Ghor and the House of Ghazni. Alauddin, king of Ghor, razed the magnificent city of Ghazni to the ground and set the ruins to flames. The kings of Ghazni found a shelter in their Indian foot-hold that had been created by Mahmud of Ghazni two hundred years ago. But the Ghoī kings followed the Ghazni rulers to India. Shihābuddin Ghoī, the associate ruler with his brother Ghīyasud-din Ghoī, wrested the Punjab from Khusru Malik, the last king of the House of Ghazni. The conquest of the Punjab brought the dominions of the Ghoī kings to the confines of the kingdom of Prithvīrāja, the greatest king of Northern India at that time.

Taking advantage of the hostility between the two most powerful rulers of Northern India, Prithvīrāja and Jaichand,

Sihābuddin Ghoī who with a general's eye had
First battle of
Tarain 1190-91 A.D. been watching the situation for some time from
the Punjab, led the first attack in 1191. The task
of defending the independence of India devolved on Prithvīrāja
and he took it up with his characteristic valour. He organised a
confederacy of the Hindu princes from which Jaichand kept
aloof. The two armies met on the field of Tarain or Tiraun
between Thānesvara and Karnal. The vigorous charge led by
Ghoī to the centre of the Rājput army was warded off and a
flanking movement led by Prithvīrāja completely surrounded the
invading army. Sihābuddin Ghoī just managed to escape with
great difficulty. Prithvīrāja won a decisive victory.

Two years later, the indomitable Sihābuddin returned to the attack. Prithvirāja and his allies again met him on the same battle-field as before. This time his army was completely routed. He stood his ground resisting to the last minute and was captured.

Second Battle of
Tātāin A.D. 1193
and the Death of
Prithvirāja

The invader killed his royal and gallant captive in cold blood. With the death of Prithvirāja, the Sun of Hindu glory set for ever. The victory of Tātāin was followed by the occupation of Ajmer and Delhi. Jaichānd could not escape the nemesis that overtook Prithvirāja and his allies. He paid the price of his unpatriotic conduct by falling a prey to the advancing host of the invaders on the battle field near Etawah in 1194. Kanauj and Benares were occupied and sacked by Muhammad Ghori. The foundation of the Muhammadan rule in India was firmly laid and quickly extended to include Bihar and Bengal.

The eastern portion of Harsha's empire including Bihar and Bengal broke up into petty chieftainship until the eighth century A.D. when a powerful chieftain, *Gopāla*, wielded

The Pala Dynasty of Bihar and Bengal the petty chieftainships into a united and consolidated kingdom. He was a pious Buddhist and founded a great monastery at Uddintapura.¹

The dynasty founded by him is known as the Pāla dynasty. His son and successor, *Dharmapāla* [c. 780-815 A.D.] had a long and successful reign. According to the Tibetan historian Tānānātha, his rule extended from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jalandhar in the north and the valleys of the Vindhya range in the south.² This is supported by the fact that he dethroned Indrāyudha, king of Pāñchāla and installed in his place *Chakrāyudha*. Like his predecessor, he was a devout Buddhist and founded the famous monastery of Vikramashilā which grew to be great Buddhist University of the type of Nālandā. He died about 815 A.D. and was succeeded by his son, *Devapāla* [815-850 A.D.]

¹ The modern town of Bihar Sharif.

² EHI, 4th Ed. p. 413.

who was one of the most powerful kings of the Pāla-dynasty and enjoyed a long reign. Devapāla's cousin and general Jayapāla conquered Assam and Kaliṅga. He also humbled the powers of his Dravidian and Gurjara rivals. He had diplomatic relations with the kings of Sumatīa who got Devapāla's permission to erect a splendid monastery at Nālandā. Like his predecessor, Devapāla was a zealous Buddhist, making wat on the unbelievers. The Buddhist poet, Vajradatta lived in his court and composed the well-known work, *Lokesvara Sūtakā*, the "Hundred Stanzas" describing in the greatest detail the figure and praising the many qualities such as love and mercy of Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara. The ninth king of the dynasty was *Mahipāla* who is best remembered for having defeated Rājendra Chōha when the latter invaded Bengal. He was the last great Pāla king. With him ended the glory of the Pāla rule. The dynasty sank into insignificance during the regime of his weak successors. In the opening of the 12th century A.D., the Senas overthrew them from Bengal and at the beginning of the next century, they lost Bihar to the Muslim conquerors.

The Pāla rule was remarkable for many things. Not only Bengal became one of the greatest powers under Pāla rule, it was marked by great intellectual and artistic activities. The famous painters, sculptors and bronze-founders, Dhīmāna and Bitpāla flourished in the Pāla empire under royal patronage. As we have already noticed, two famous monasteries and centres of learning at Vikramashilā and Uddantapura were established by the Pāla kings. Buddhist monks were sent to Nepal and Tibet to preach Buddhism. At the same time, it must be stated that corruptions in Buddhism in the form of Vajrayāna and Tāntricism definitely degraded Buddhists during this period.

The founder of the Sena dynasty in Bengal was *Vijayasena* [c. A. D. 1119—58] who wrested a considerable portion of Bengal

The Senas of Bengal from the Pālas and declared himself independent. He carried on successful wars with other powers and enjoyed a long reign on a new basis and the founder of *Kulinism* by mean of regrouping

the Brāhmans and Kayasthas into superior and inferior grades. For instance, the Mukherjis, Banerjis and Chatterjis among the Brāhmans and the Ghoshas, Boses¹ and the Mitras among the Kayasthas of Bengal are *Kulins* or superior to the rest of their caste-fellows. Ballāla Sena was succeeded by his son, *Lakshmāna Sena* [c. A.D. 1170-1200] who was overthrown by Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyār, whom Kutubuddin had sent to conquer Bihar and Bengal.

The Sena kings were orthodox Hindus and were hostile to Buddhism. Ballāla Sena himself was inclined to the tantric form of worship. They were liberal patrons of Sanskrit literature. Ballāla Sena was himself an author and the two famous poets of Bengal, Dhoyika who wrote *Pavanadūta* an imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* and Jayadeva, author of the *Gītagovinda*, lived in the court of Lakshmana Sena.

SOCIAL CONDITION AND CULTURE IN THE RAJPUT PERIOD

In spite of their foreign origin the Rājputs regarded themselves as coming of the bluest blood in the country, traced their pedigree to Indian gods and heroes and quickly developed into a proud and haughty aristocracy with its privileges of which they were intensively jealous. At the same time, consistent with their pride of aristocracy, they developed a spirit of chivalry. The Rājput's ruling passion was war, but he was merciful to the fallen foe who asked for quarter. "A suppliant who had taken sanctuary by his hearth was sacred."¹ The Rājputs honoured their women and staked their lives to protect them and their honour. They offered the stiffest resistance to the foreign invaders, but once they submitted before the superior force and gave their oath of fealty to the Liege-lord, they maintained their loyalty to him even against provocations until the Lord himself broke his promise or his

¹ Rawlinson : India, p. 201.

part of the bargain. Their women, like men, were inspired to lofty ideals of woman-hood—devotion to and affection for husband and relations, chastity, truthfulness and patriotism. There are innumerable records of their smilingly entering the fire to save their honour. [Janbar] or accompanying the dead husband to the funeral pyre [Sati.]

The Rājput was extremely loyal to his clan, and the clanish chief. To be able to die in the battle-field for the honour of the clan or to protect his chief from death or wound was welcomed as a personal triumph.

Clanish Patriotism. A Rājput was proud and touchy, quick to take offence and to retaliate. Rājput history is replete with the events of bloody feuds among the clans, sometimes for the flimsiest of cause. ‘A sanguinary campaign was once fought because a rājā, when out hawking, picked up a partridge which had fallen over his neighbour’s boundary’ [Ib.]. In this the Rājput can be compared to the Scottish Highlanders. His intense and exclusive clanish loyalty confined to the person and territory of his chief made him blind or indifferent to the larger patriotism of the whole of India. The result was that when foreign armies invaded India, they were more often than not met singly, each individual clan in its turn, with disastrous results for the country. On the few occasions they combined, as history records, against foreign invaders, the unity was not so much because they were inspired by a vision of India’s political integrity as a whole, but by a chivalrous response to call to succour a brother prince in danger. If they could only shake off their mutual rancour and jealousy against the common foe of their country and organise themselves into some sort of enduring confederacy, the history of India would have been different indeed!

The Rājput loved and honoured their women-folk. The Rājput woman enjoyed great freedom and enjoyed the ancient

The Position of Women Kshatriya right of maiden’s choice. The

Svayamvara form of marriage of which we hear so often in the annals of Rajpūtana was not confined to the rich and royal classes. Even among the common

folk the girl was allowed to choose her mate, or her consent was sought for marriage settled by her father. She generally married after attaining her majority. According to the contemporary records of the learned Muslim scholar Alberūnī, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghaznī to India and wrote an account of the country [Alberūnī's India, English trans. by Sachau], "Women were all educated and took an active part in public life. Girls could read and write and understand Sanskrit. They learned to play, dance and paint portraits. The Rājpūt woman was inspired by lofty ideals of woman-hood. She was devoted to her husband and affectionate to her kinsmen. She was chaste in conduct and patriotic in spirit. There are innumerable records in Rājpūt history of her smilingly entering the fire to save her honour [*Jauhar*] or accompany the dead husband to the funeral pyre to show her devotion and admiration of her husband killed in battle [*Sati*]. *Jauhar* was a mass-suicide in order to escape defilement, worse than death, at the hands of the foreign victor. This was when the Muhammadans invaded the land, the women in a besieged town generally committed this rite when all hope of victory vanished. *Sati*, on the other hand, was an individual act of suicide by the widow when her lord she admired and worshipped died fighting in battle. This is how Todd describes an incident of this nature in connection with the first siege of Chitor in his inimitable style: The widow addresses the page who had seen her husband fall;

"Boy, tell me, even I go, how bore himself my Lord?"

"As a reaper of the harvest of battle! I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain, whereon a barbarian his pillow, he sleeps resigned by his foes."

"Yet once again, oh boy, tell me how my Lord bore himself?"

"Oh mother, who can tell his deeds. He left no foe to dread or to admire him."

She smiled farewell to the boy and adding, ' my Lord will chide my delay,' sprang into the flames." [Todds' *Annals and Antiquities*, 1914 Edn. I, 246]¹.

The Rājpūt kings were great patrons of art and literature. Drama in particular flourished in the courts of many Rājās, some of whom were themselves authors of repute.

Literature Rājā Muñja was gifted with poetic talents of high order. The great Paramāra ruler, Rājā Bhoja of Dhārā was a reputed author of many books on different subjects such as medicine, astronomy, grammar, religion, architecture, poetics, lexicography, arts, etc. Among his works may be mentioned the following : *Ayurveda Sarvasva*, *Rājamrigāṅka*, *Vyavāra-samuchchaya*, *Śubdānuśasana*, *Yuktikalpataru*, etc. Of the later authors, the foremost was Rājaśekhara, who lived at the court of Mahendra Pāla of Kanauj [c. 900 A.D.]. His drama *Karpūramatījari* is entirely in Prākṛit. Another important work is the famous, *Gītagovinda* or the 'Song of the Cowherd' written by Jayadeva, the poet laureate of king Lakshmaṇasena of Bengal [1200 A.D.]. This poem, half drama, half lyric, describes the loves of Kṛishna and the milkmaids and in particular, his beloved Rādhā. At the sametime a flourishing school of literature arose in the court of Kāsmīra kings at Śrinagar. Kalhana wrote his famous metrical chronicle the *Rājataranginī* [River of Kings] and Somadeva his famous *Kathasaritsāgara* or Ocean of Tales. The period also witnessed a new departure in the rise of the vernaculars. The Rājput bards begin to sing in Hindi the heroic deeds of their patrons and those of their ancestors in stirring language of the people. The most famous of these bards or Chāranas was Chānd Bardāi. In his

¹ The earliest epigraphic record of *Sati* in 510 A.D. was that of the widow of Goparāja, a vassal-chief of Bhānu Gupta who died fighting against the Hūṇa king Mihirakula[C.I.I.III, p. 92f.]. The Rājput women followed this ideal. Later the practice was reduced to more or less meaningless and cruel custom, which forced many unwilling victims to the pyre as in Bengal. This rightly led to the total abolition of this rite in the time of Lord Bentinck.

famous book *Prithvirāja Rāso*, he celebrates the exploits of his patron king, Prithvirāja.

The Rājputs were great builders. Their irrigation works, bathing places, reservoirs, and fortresses testify to their skill of engineering and architecture. The noble and strong fortresses of Chitor, Ranthambhot, Mandu and Gwalior are conspicuous examples of their architectural skill. Other fine examples are the Palace of Man-singh at Gwalior, the Palace of the Winds at Udaipur, and the buildings at Jaipur, that 'the rose-red city, half as old as Time.' Many of those cities and palaces stand by the site of beautiful artificial lakes, but the castle of Jodhapur, like those of mediaeval Europe, is perched upon a lofty and inaccessible rock overlooking the town, with growing bastions and battlements. Even Bābur, usually a severe critic of Indian kings, praised these edifices as singularly beautiful, with 'their domes covered with plates of copper-gilt'.¹

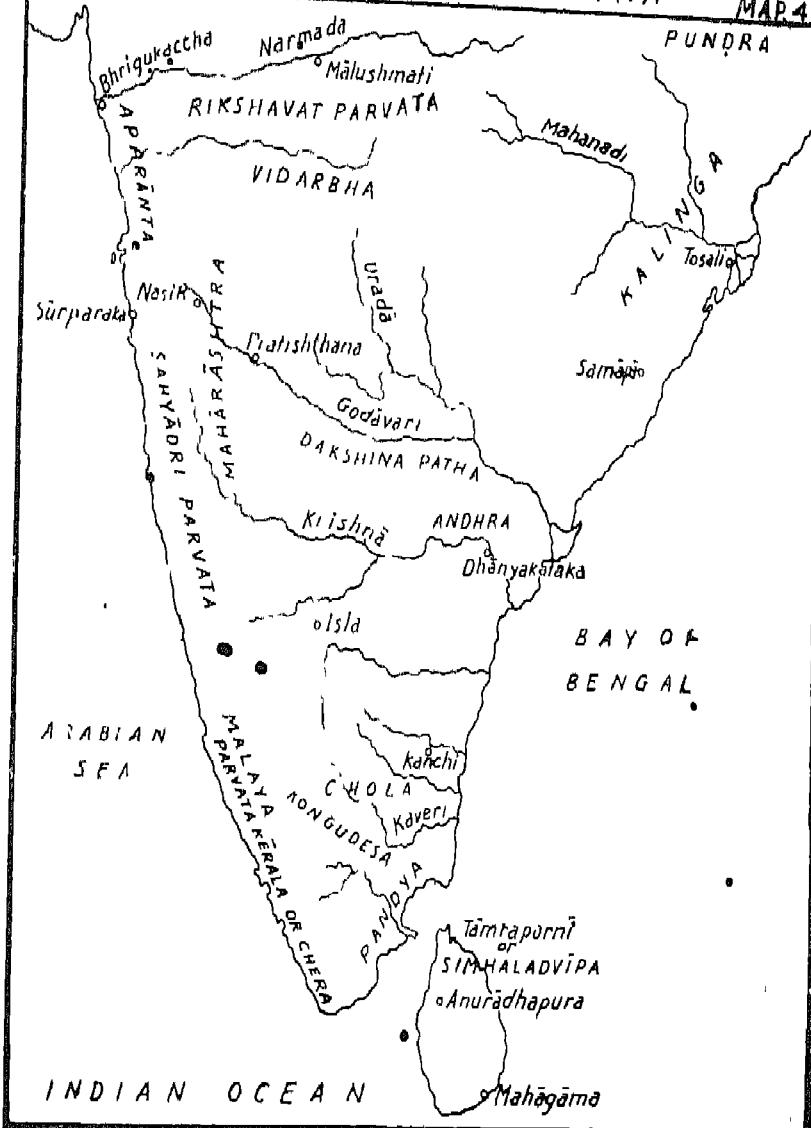
The mediaeval Hindu temples of the Northern or Indo-Aryan type as distinct from their southern or Dravidian counterparts are noted for their lofty ribbed curvilinear or bulging spire. It is surmounted by a large cushioned shaped block of stone called *Āmalaka*. On it stands the *Kalasa* or the Vase-shaped pinnacle. An example of temples of this style built during the period under review, is the beautiful *Līngarāja* Temple at Bhuvaneśvara. It has a spire of 180 feet high, rising imposingly above the surrounding buildings. Another notable group exists in Khajurāho in Bundelkhand. In these, the lofty spire is made up of a number of smaller ones, and the sides are richly decorated with sculptures. A particularly ornate and floral school of architecture sprang up in Gujrat under the patronage of Solañki kings of Anhilavād, as can be gathered from the beautiful Triumph Arch built during that period. The mediaeval Hindu architecture finds its highest expression in the Jaina temples which crown the summits of Mount Abu in Southern Rājpūtana. The

¹ Ib. p. 216.

most beautiful temple of this type is that of Tejapāla, whose hall of pure white marble show excellent and delicate workmanship of what Fergusson speaks in enthusiastic admiration : "The lace-like delicacy of the fairy forms into which the patient chisel of the Hindu has carved the white marble." Regarding the pendant form of the Centre Dome of Tejapāla's temple the admiration is still higher : "It appears like a cluster of half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent and so accurately wrought out that it fixes the eye in admiration." [Ib. p. 218].

ANCIENT DAKSHINĀPATHA

MAP 4



CHAPTER XV

THE DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN

Dakshināpatha or the Deccan forms the northern-most part of the South-Indian Peninsula. It lies between the Vindhya mountains and the Tungabhadra river. South Dakshinapatha of the river lies the South proper containing the ancient kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pāndya. For a long time after the advent of the Aryans into this country throughout its northern gate, the Dakshināpatha was a sealed book to them. Either the great barriers—the Vindhya mountains, the Narmadā and the Mahākāntāra—discouraged their advance, or they did not feel the urge for further economic expansion into the rich plains of Northern India providing them with enough food and pastures.

We are, therefore, in complete darkness as to the early history of the Deccan except stray references in the Books of Brāhmaṇa writers whose knowledge of the country or its Early References : people was at least based on hearsay. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* [VII. 18] speaks of the Deccan as being inhabited by the Andhras, Paundras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mutibas who were descendants of the sons of the Vedic seer, Viśvāmitra. The epics speak of the land as covered by dense forests, haunted by demons and aboriginal tribes, Rākshasas and Dasyus, and Kaikeyī chose Daṇḍakāraṇya [Mahārāshṭra] infested with demons as the home of the banished Rāma during the period of his exile, hoping that he would not come back alive. Pañchavaṭī where Rāma settled in the Dandaka forest, is identified with the now holy city of Nāsik at the source of the Godāvarī. Rāma's episode in the Deccan as described in the Rāmāyaṇa has, perhaps, a historical background : viz., the political advance of the Aryans into that land. A still earlier epic tradition has it that the great sage Agastya was the first Rishi to spread Āryan religion and culture

and establish a settlement beyond the Vindhya mountains. If the tradition has any historical truth, this cultural penetration must have preceded the political domination and taken place about the close of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century B. C. At the beginning the cultural Aryanisation of the Deccan was confined to a limited area near its northern and eastern boundaries. Pāṇini [c. 700-500 B.C.] refers to the Dakshināpatha whose geography extended only up to Kaliṅga. Apastamba [c. 500 B.C.], one of the top-rank authors of the Sūtra literature is said to have been born in the Deccan. By his time the penetration must have extended to include a wider territory and the Aryan immigrants have been large enough to require a special manual for domestic rites [*Gṛhyaśāstra*] and a manual of social conduct [*Dharma Sūtra*], prepared by someone among themselves. Kātyāyana [c. 400 B. C.] who wrote a commentary [*Vārttikā*] on Pāṇini's grammar refers to Dakshināpatha which included besides Mahishmat and Nāsikya, the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas also. Kauṭilya [c. 400 B.C.,] the author of the *Arthasāstra*, was also familiar with the extreme South as he refers in his book to a kind of pearl in the Pāṇḍya country. The systematic advance of the Aryans into the South and the resultant conflict between them and the Dravidian's, as can be gathered from Rāma's episode of exile and wars described in the Rāmāyaṇa, also throws light here and there on the nature of civilisations of the two peoples. In spite of the fact that the epic paints the non-Aryans of the South as Rākshasas and Dasyus as the Vedas had done their compatriots in the North, certain unvarying admissions go to show that the Dravidians had developed a civilisation not inferior to that of the invaders, and in some respects superior to them. For instance, the Dravidians knew the art of building castles and fortresses which the Aryans had to invest before taking them. They generally lived in pucca house, while the Aryans prepared huts of mud and bamboo. The Aryan invaders could not easily defeat the Dravidians. Sometimes they had to take resort to unfair means to defeat such powerful Dravidian rulers as Bāli and Rāvaṇa, creating divisions among the ranks of the

army of resistance being a common stratagem of the Ātyans. Even the victorious Aryan hero Rāma begged to be enlightened in statecraft by the dying Rāvaṇa.

It was in the time of the Mauiyas that we get a definite historical evidence of the political conquest of the Deccan by a northern ruler. But the Mauryan empire, however, did not include the countries of the extreme South. Aśokas' inscriptions mark the limit of his empire as far as Mysore. His Rock Edict XIII definitely refers to the Pāṇḍyas and Chōlas as independent countries beyond the southern frontiers of his empire, but Bhojas, Pitnikas, Andhras, and Palidas were within his dominions. The Pitnikas has also been mentioned in association with the Ristikas or Rāstikas in R.E.V. The Bhojas were the people of Berar. The Pitnikas were the inhabitants of the District of Paithan. About the origin and home of Andhras we have discussed already [Supra, p. 171 f.]. The Palidas or Pulindas were, perhaps, the wild tribes. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles Aśoka sent a mission to the Deccan with the monk Rakkhita who penetrated as far as Banavāsi [in North Kanara]. He is said to have made 60,000 converts. One of Aśoka's Dharmamahāmātias was appointed to work among them [R.E.s V and XIII].

After the downfall of the Mauryan empire the Deccan was under the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas for about 300 years until 300 A.D. [Supra, pp. 170 and 178]. The Vākāṭakas, a Central Indian power, ruled a considerable portion of the Deccan until about 600 A.D., when the Chālukyas became a dominant power in the Deccan.

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VĀTĀPI [Badami]

About A.D. 550 the great Chālukya dynasty sprang into prominence in the Deccan. As to their origin any definite evidence is lacking. Dr. Vincent Smith says that the Chālukyas or Solañkis were of foreign origin, being part of a horde of Gurjara invaders from Central Asia¹. The name still survives in the Chālukya or

¹ EHI, 4th Ed., p. 440.

Solañki family among the Marāthā.¹ Indian traditions, however, provide them with a pedigree going back to the city of Ajodhyā and that they were a Kshatriya race and their progenitor was Hāriti. In Yuan Chwang's records [Watters, II p. 239], Pulakesin II is described as a Kshatruya by birth.

The Aihole-Meguti Inscription of S.R. 556 = A.D. 634 provides us with the genealogy of the western Chālukya kings upto Pulakesin II. The first king mentioned Early Chālukya Kings of Badami in the list is Jayasimha. His son and successor was Rañarāja. We know nothing more than their names. The third king was Pulakesin I, the son and successor of Rañarāja. He made Vātāpi [mod. Badami in the Bijapur District] his capital. According to an inscription recently discovered of S.E. 465²=A.D. 543 Pulakesin I took the title of Vallabhesvara and performed an *Aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice. His successor was Kīrtivarman. He greatly increased the power of the dynasty by defeating the Mauiyas of North Konkan and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. He is recorded to have penetrated also into Bihar and Bengal in the north and Chōla-Pāndya countries in the South. Kīrtivarman died about the close of the sixth century A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Mañgaleśa who evidently brushed aside the claims of his nephew Pulakesin, the son of Kīrtivarman. Mañgaleśa is credited to have subjugated the country between the western and eastern seas and the Kalachutis of Northern Deccan. A great work of art, a beautiful cave-temple of Vishnu, was excavated during his time at Badami. His last days were clouded by a civil war, between him and his nephew Pulakesin II, who finally won in the contest for the throne against his uncle and his sons.

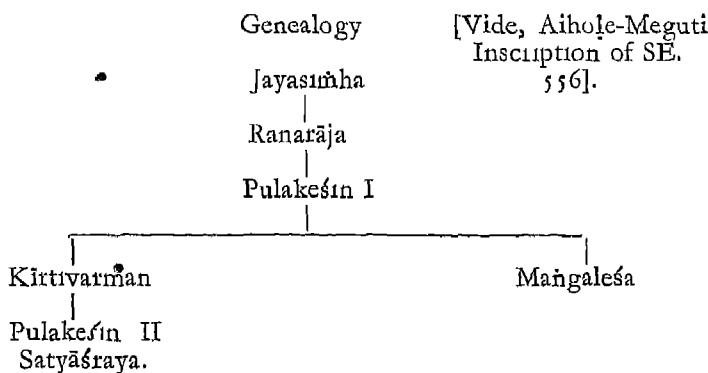
PULAKESIN II

As the foregoing lines will show Pulakesin's early life was beset with trials and difficulties which he ultimately overcame. Although the son of a reigning monarch and heir to the throne,

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 160.

² The Leader, June 19, 1941.

his claim was brushed aside by his uncle who usurped the throne and wanted to pass it on to his own sons. But Pulakesin was a vigilant and vigorous youth, and started a civil war against overwhelming odds and ultimately succeeded in wresting his right from the usurper's hand. He ascended the throne of his father under the name *Pulakesin II Satyāśraya* to which he gradually added other titles as he made further conquests and won more laurels of war.



According to the Haidarabad Copper-plate grant of Pulakesin II [IA, Vol. VI, p. 72 ff] he ascended the throne in 609 A.D.; the grant having been made when 'Saka era 534 having passed in the third year of my own installation in the sovereignty.'

Taking advantage of the civil war between the uncle and nephew some of the conquered provinces revolted. Pulakesin brought them back under his rule. The Haidarabad grant states that he "acquired the second name of 'supreme Lord' by victory over hostile kings who applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles. The Aihole inscription of the year 634 A.D., which is a comprehensive record of Pulakesin's wars and conquests, names the powers such as the Lāṭas, the Mālavas, and the Gurjāras whose chieftains 'were brought under subjection by punishment' [Ind. Ant. Vol. VII, p. 237]. The same epigraph also refers to his war with

Harshavardhana : " Harsha whose lotus-feet were covered with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of the hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured wealth, was by him [Pulakeśin II] made to lose his mirth in fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle" [Ib ; Ep. Ind. Vol. VI]. This victory over Harsha, naturally increased his power and prestige still further. The kings of Mahākōśala and Kaliṅga became terror-stricken at his approach and hastily submitted to him. By 634 A. D., the date of his Aihoṇe-Meguti record, he became the most dominant power in the South as Harshavardhana was in the North. The epigraph [Ib.] records that Pulakeśin's empire comprised three Mahārāshṭrikas composed of 99 thousand villages.

Pulakeśin's great rivals in South India itself were the Pallavas. He defeated the Pallava prince Mahendravarman and threatened his capital Kāñchipura [Conjeeveram]. Afraid War with the Pallavas of Pulakeśin's growing strength the states in the far south—the Chōlas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas readily entered into an alliance with Pulakeśin II.

According to an Arab writer Tabari [JRAS. No. XI, 1879, pp. 165-66] Pulakeśin established diplomatic relations with Persia.

Diplomatic Relations with Persia Pulakeśin sent to his contemporary Iranian monarch Khusru II an embassy in 625 with letters and presents in order to establish friendly relations with the neighbouring state. Khusru II heartily reciprocated this move by cordially receiving the Indian ambassador and sending his own envoy to the court of Pulakeśin. Some scholars think that this event has been portrayed in one of the Ajantā Cave paintings.¹

Yuan Chwang visited Mo-ha-lacha [Mahārāshṭra] about 640-41 A.D. when Pulakeśin was on the throne of the Chālukyas.

The Chinese pilgrim speaks very favourably Yuan Chwang's visit to Maharashtra of the administration and economic condition of the country and the "proud and war-like" spirit of the people who were undaunted in war, revengeful for

¹ Sten Konow, however, doubts it. [IA. Feb. 1908, p. 24].

wrongs and grateful for favours. Of the king himself he says that Pu-lo-ke-she [Pulakeśin] a Kshatruṇya by birth and the head of a valiant people was an object of fear to his neighbours, but the benevolent nature of his administration made his vassals of his wide dominions serve him with loyalty and devotion¹.

Within a year of Yuan Chwang's visit to him when he was at the height of his power, a great disorder overtook him. The Pallavas who had suffered at the hands of the

His death Chālukyas now rallied under the leadership of their able prince Narasiṁha Varman who invaded Pulakeśin's territory and in the battle that ensued Pulakeśin was defeated and killed and his capital Vāṭāpi stormed and plundered [642 A.D.].

Chālukya power was not, however, completely broken, but only remained in abeyance for about thirteen years after which Vikramāditya I, a son of Pulakeśin II, recovered his father's throne, defeated the Pallavas and even captured their capital Kāñchi. He reigned from 654 to 680 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya [c. 680-696 A.D.], who according to an epigraph [Ind. Ant. IX, p. 129] acquired "the insignia of supreme domination by crushing the Lord of all the reign of the north" [*Sakalottarapatha-nātha*]. His contemporary ruler in the north at that time was Āḍityasena who assumed the title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahā-īajādhīṣṭāna which his successors continued to assume [Sūpra, p. 305]. If he was to be identified with the ruler named in the inscription, it was certainly an exaggeration of the piasastikāra to call him the lord of the whole of the North. Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vyayāditya [c. 696-733 A.D.] whose son was Vikramāditya II who reigned from c. 733 to 747 A.D.. He carried on the hereditary hostilities with the Pallavas, defeated their king Nandivarman and captured their capital Kāñchi. He also carried on wars with the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas. During his time the Arabs who had established themselves in Sindh in 712 A.D. invaded the Deccan. Vikramāditya met the invading

¹ Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, p. 225; Watteau, II, p. 239.

hosts and defeated them. This was a glorious achievement which saved the Deccan from Arab domination. But this was the last great work of the Chālukyas, for under the next king *Kirtiraman II* the favourite son of Vikramāditya II, the Western Chālukya power was destroyed by the Rāshtrakūṭas in 741 A.D. [Ep. Ind. XXV, pp. 25-31].

The Chālukya rulers of Badami were staunch Brāhmaṇists but they were tolerant to both Jainism and Buddhism. During the

Religious Tolerance period of their rule Jaina religion was practised by a large section of the people in complete freedom.

Ravikīrti, a Jaina, who composed the *Aihole prasasti* and represents himself as a poet was patronised by Pulakeśin II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Pañdita Udayadeva [Ind. Ant. VII, p. 112]. Vikramāditya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant to another learned Jaina named Jayapandita [Ind. Ant. VII, p. 197]. Although Buddhism was on the wane, a good number of monasteries and stūpas still remained in the kingdom of the Chālukyas as evidence of their tolerant policy, when Yuan Chwang visited their country. The Chinese pilgrim testifies to the existence of above 100 Buddhist monasteries and 5,000 Buddhist monks existed in the country. In and around the capital were "five Aśoka stupes [stūpas] and there were innumerable other stupes of stone and brick" [Watters II, p. 239].

Buddhism was being gradually suppressed by Jainism and Brāhmaṇical Hinduism. The sacrificial form of worship received

Revival of Hinduism special attention. Many formal treatises on the sacrificial form of worship were composed. Pulakeśin I alone performed a number of great sacrifices, e.g. Aśvamedha, and Vajpeya etc. The Purānic form of Hinduism grew in popularity. Everywhere elaborate temples dedicated to Vishnu, Śiva and other deities of the Purānic pantheon were erected. Even in their ruins they form magnificent reliefs of the Chālukyan art.

CHĀLUKYA ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The building of excavated cave temples of Hindu gods in imitation of their Buddhist and Jain counterparts was one of the achievements of the Chālukya art. One of the earliest works of this class is that made at Badami in honour of Vishnu [*Supra*, p. 346] by Maṅgaleśa Chālukya about the close of the sixth century A.D. Both Ajantā and Ellora were situated in the dominions of the Chālukyas. A record of the famous Chālukya King Pulakeśin II remains in a fragmentary painting in the first monastic hall at Ajantā, representing the reception of a Persian embassy [*Supra*, p. 348]. Besides the painted halls, the Ajantā Caves include a number of Chaitya-halls, ranging from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. Some of the latest of them were probably executed in the time of the early Chālukya Dynasties.

Also in structural buildings of stone finely joined without mortar, the Chālukya period has many to be proud of. The beautiful stone temple of Śiva at Meguti which shows the art of stone-building in its perfection, was erected in about 634 A.D. and contains the *prasasti* on Pulakeśin composed by Ravikiśi. The *Vishnu Temple at Aihole* is one of the best preserved temples. It bears an inscription of Vikramāditya II [Ind. Ant. VIII, p. 286]. It is built in stone on a rock in Buddhist Chaitya hall style. The temple is distinguished by its extraordinary fine sculpture. The two superb high-flying *Devas* are excellent in design and execution. The Chaitya-cell is placed in a pillared hall with a pradakshinā-patha, round the shrine.

Not far from Badami and Aihole is the famous *Virupāksha Temple at Pattadkal*. It bears an inscription of the Chālukya king

Vikramāditya who ruled from A.D. 733 to 747
The Pattadkal Virupaksha Temple A.D. The plan is this : In front of the *antarāla* —the hall of the priests—is a pillared mandapam or the meeting place of the people, about 50 ft. square. The roof is supported by sixteen monolithic pillars with sculptural

bracket capitals, and the enclosing walls on each side were pierced by four windows. The temple, says Havell, "combines the stateliness of the classic design of Europe with fervid imagination of gothic art."

THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS

The new power which destroyed the Chālukya supremacy in the Deccan is that of the Rāshtrakūtas. They were at first subordinate to the Chālukyas of Badami, when the latter were at the height of their power. About 757 A.D. the powerful Rāshtrakūta chief, *Dantidurga* defeated the Chālukya king, *Kīrtivarman II* and laid the foundation of Rāshtrakūta supremacy in the Deccan. He was succeeded by his uncle *Krishnarāja I* who is remembered for having constructed the famous rock-cut temple Kailāśa [Śiva] Temple at Ellora. Krishnarāja was succeeded by his son *Govindarāja II* who was a powerful king and defeated the Gurjara king Vatsarāja who ruled in Southern Rājpūtānā. Dhruvarāja's son and successor *Govinda III* destroyed the Western Gāṅga king of Mysore and defeated Dantivarman of Kāschī. He became so powerful that his aid was invoked by Dharmapāla of Bengal and his protege Chakrāyudha, against the Gurjara king Nāgabhāṭṭa of Bhuimāl who had supported Chakrāyudha's rival Indrāyudha for the throne of Kanauj. Govinda III repeated his father's exploits by defeating the Gurjara king Nāgabhāṭṭa III and driving him to his desert home. Govinda II was succeeded by his son Amogha Varsha I in 814 A.D. He was the greatest king of the dynasty. He founded a new capital city Mānyakheta which still exists under the name of Malkhed in the Nizam's territory. He enjoyed a long reign of 63 years from 814 to 877 A.D. He was a patron of learning. He became a Jain and liberally patronized the Digambara sect. He was succeeded by his son *Krishna II* during whose reign the Rāshtrakūta power evidently declined. He suffered defeats both at the hands of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Gurjaras who had conquered Kanauj a few years ago and transferred their capital to that city. He died about 914 A.D. and was

succeeded by his grandson *Indra III* who revived the power and glory of the dynasty. He invaded Mālwā, the southernmost province of the Gurjara empire of Kanauj and also sacked Ujjain. He then invaded the Gurjara capital, Kanauj, dethroned Mahipāla I and sacked the city. He was the last great king of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. His successors who all proved to be very weak rulers continued to rule a gradually diminishing territory until about 973 A.D. when the last of the Rāshtrakūṭa king *Kakka II* was overthrown by Tailāpa, the founder of the new Chālukya dynasty known to history as the later Chālukyas.

THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS

The founder of the later Chālukya dynasty was *Tailapa* or *Taila*. From the name of the capital city Kalyāṇī, in the Nizam's dominions, the dynasty is also known as the western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. *Tailapa* was a powerful king. He successfully fought with the neighbouring powers the Chālukyas of Gujerāt, the Paramāras of Mālwā, the Kalachuris of Chedi and the Cholas in the South. The Paññāna king Muñja died fighting with him. After a reign of forty-four years, *Tailapa* was succeeded by his son *Satyāśraya* about whom very little is known. His grandson *Jayasimha II* gave up Jainism and accepted the Śaiva religion. He lived in troublous times. He fought successfully against the Paramāra king Bhoja I but was defeated by the great Chola king Rājendra Chola I at the battle of Musangi. He was succeeded by his son *Someśvara I* in 1041. He founded the city of Kalyāṇī which henceforth became the capital of the Chālukyas. In his time, the Chola king Rājā Krisārivarman invaded the Deccan plateau and defeated Someśvara at the battle of Koppam. Someśvara I was succeeded by his eldest son *Someśvara II*, who was deposed by his younger brother, *Vikramāditya* after a reign of four years in 1076 A.D.

Vikramāditya was the greatest of this dynasty. He greatly restored the prestige of his family and recovered some of the lost

territories. He also defeated Vishnugvardhana, the Hoysala king of Mysore. He defeated Rājendra Chōla II Vikramaditya VI when the latter invaded the Deccan plateau.

He founded a new era, known as the Chālukyan Vikrama era. He was a patron of learning and art. The famous poet Bilhaṇa and the celebrated Vījnāneśvara, the author of *Mitākshara*, lived in his court. He was the last great king of the dynasty. After him, the Chālukya power declined during the weak rule of his successors. The feudatories asserted their independence one after the other. The last of the dynasty was Someśvara during whose reign the Yādavas of Devagiri overthrew it in 1190.

LATER CHĀLUKYAN TEMPLES

Between the earlier and the later Chālukya temples there appear no traditional examples to bridge the gap except one or two. This dearth of buildings is explained by the temporary loss of political power of the Chālukyas in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas who held it until about A.D. 973. The latter Chālukya buildings after the restoration of power by Tailapa, on account of this long gap differs greatly in style and in the materials used in the buildings of the earlier period. The rougher grained sand-stone was replaced by the more compact and finer-grained blackstone known as Chloritic schist [a kind of soft stone] which dresses down to a much finer surface, and has enabled the sculptors to produce so much of that beautiful, delicate, lace-like tracery which characterises the later work and which it would have been difficult to produce in the coarser material. With it the circular shaft of the pillars have been brought to a very high state of polish. The temple of Kāśivisvesvara at Lakkundi in the Dhawar district is an elaborately decorated temple of this period. Even more elaborate is the carved work of the Mahādeva temple at Ittagi, six miles away. This is a much larger building than that of Kāśivisvesvara, it having possessed a large pillared-hall, which the other, does not,

It bears an inscription of Śaka 1034 [A.D. 1112]. Other highly decorated temples of the same period are found in many places within the old Chālukyan boundaries, and there is hardly a village that has not some remains, for the Chālukyans, both the early and the later lines, were great builders. The more notable remains are found at Gadag, Kuiuvatti, Haveri, Hangal, Bankipur, and many other places. The little temple of Satasvatī, the goddess of learning, at Gadag has some elaborately designed pillars, and there are no others that are equal to these for the crowded abundance of minute detail which covers the surface. At Kuiuvatti there is a temple where some other fine figure brackets are exquisite in design and execution. There is no part of western India so full of inscribed tablets and memorial stones as the Kanarese districts—that is, the country of the Chālukyas.¹

THE HOYSALAS OF DVĀRĀSAMUDRA

The power which rose round the territory between the Cholas in the south-east and the western Chālukyas in the north-west and gave a lot of trouble to the latter in their declining period was of the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra. The Hoysalas claimed descent from the moon. The founder of the greatness of the dynasty was Vishnuvardhana who defeated the Cholas, the Kadamba chief of Goa, the western Chālukya chief Vikramāditya IV. Finally he defeated the Gurjaras in the decisive battle of Talakad. Having descended from the Deccan plateau, he occupied Coimbatore. In 1191, he overran some portions of the Malabar country and conquered the Tulavas of the South Kanara district. He was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha I. He reigned peacefully over the dominions acquired by his father. Vishnuvardhana removed his capital from Belapura [Modern Belur] to Doārasamudra, also called Dvārasamudra [modern Halebid, about 10 miles north-east of Belur]. Narasiṁha I was succeeded by his son Vira Ballala II about the end of the twelfth century. He

¹ The Architectural Antiquities of Western India by Henry Cousens, [1926].

greatly added to the Hoysala dominions by defeating the Yādavas of Devagiri. He died in 1211 and was succeeded by his son Narasimha II whose reign was more or less uneventful.

Narasimha II was succeeded by his son Somesvara who reigned for about 24 years. After Somesvara his son Narasimha III reigned from 1254 to 1286. Both these kings had a long and bitter struggle with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. Narasimha's son and successor *Vīra-Ballāla III* [1310--1339] was the last king of the dynasty during whose time Malik Kasur occupied and sacked Dvārasamudra. He then removed the capital to Belur where he reigned as a tributary prince to Alauddin Khilji until he died in 1339.

Hoysala Art

Architecture, sculpture including decorative art received great encouragement by the Hoysala rulers. The great temples at Śravanē-Belagola, Belur and Halebid which still exist, excite our admiration. Some of the splendid sculptures of Vijayanagara discovered in the Mysore State were inspired by the Hoysala School. The beautiful Īśvara temple at Arsikere in Mysore State is one of the finest examples of the Hoysala style of architecture. The visitor may particularly notice the stone-dome in the Mandapa, the beautifully carved *Garbhagṛha* doorway, the *Navaranga* pillars sculptured on all four faces with figures of Vishṇu, Bhairava, Durgā and the ceilings which show an elegant workmanship. The village of Halebid is the site of the ancient Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom. Here lies the "Pantheon" of Hoysala Art. The Hoysaleśvara Temple, the largest monument at Halebid is a veritable museum of magnificent sculptures. The material used in constructing it is greyish soap-stone which yields softly to the chisel thus making possible fine and elaborate carving but gets hardened by exposure. The temple has two large cells containing the Hoysaleśvara and Santaleśvara liṅgas respectively. "Though the sculpture of the Hoysaleśvara temple is marvellous, it is never obtrusive. Though each individual

figure is a work of art, sculpture is definitely used by the designer as a subordinate element embellishing the beauty or structure's architectural design."

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

The Yādavas who originally lived in the Belagam district as feudatories of the western Chālukyas became independent and afterwards became a paramount power in Western India after the Chālukyas. The Yādavas were Maiātis proper and lived in the heart of the Mahāśāhtra country, extending from Nāsik to Devagiri [modern Daulatabad]. The founder of the independence of the Yādava dynasty was *Bhillama V*, who flourished about the end of the twelfth century. He founded the city of Devagiri where he crowned himself in 1187. He came into conflict with the Hoysalas with whom he fought several wars with alternate successes and defeats. The most powerful king of the dynasty was *Simhana* who established the supremacy of the Yādavas south of the Kāshī by defeating the Hoysala king Vallā II. In the north Sīthihana defeated the Andhra king Viśi Kokkala of the Telugu country and Ajunavarman of Mālwā. He also invaded Gujārāt several times. His son Rāmachandra advanced as far as the Narbadā. Simhana died in 1246 leaving an extensive kingdom which included the whole of the western Deccan and Central Deccan with the exception of the extreme south. The last independent king of the dynasty was Rāma-chandra who was surprised in 1194 by Alauddin Khilji who suddenly appeared before Devagiri from Kara. Rāmachandra threw himself into the fort of Devagiri and was closely besieged by Alauddin. Rāmachandra's son, Saṅkara, who was out in another campaign, advanced towards Devagiri to relieve his father but was defeated by Alauddin's army, whereon Rāmachandra submitted to Alauddin.

The Yādava rulers, especially Simhana were great patrons of literature and art. Simhana's private secretary, Sodhala was the author of a splendid work on music called *Saṅgītā-rathnākara* on which Simhana himself wrote a commentary. The astronomer Changadeva, the grandson of the celebrated astronomer

Bhūshkarācharya, lived in the court of Sīnhāna. During the reign of Sīnhāna's grand-son, Krishṇa, two important Sanskrit works, *Sultra-muktavali* and *Vedānta-Kalpataru*, a commentary on Vāchas-pati's Bhāmati were composed. The famous scholar, Hemādri was the chief minister of the last Yādava king Rāmachandra. He was the author of the great work on Hindu Law, *Chaturvarga-Chaitrāmṛti*. Hemādri, the author of a new style in temple architecture, and Bopadeva, the author of great grammatical work *Mugdhabodha*, flourished in the Yādava period. The Yādava rulers built a large number of temples.

THE KADAMBAS

After the downfall of the Andhra Dynasty a number of local dynasties grew up which continued to flourish with varying fortunes until they were absorbed by the all-conquering Chālukyas. The Kadambas were one of such local dynasties. Their home was in what is now known as Kanara, the country between the southern portion of the western Ghāṭ and the sea. They were at first feudatories of the Pallavas of Kāñchi. The Talagunda [Shimoga District, Mysore State] inscription [Ep. Ind. VII, p. 31 ff] graphically describes in ornate Kāvya style the story of how Mayūrasarman revolted against his overlord, the Pallava king of Kāñchi. The Inscription records : "In the Kadamba family there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūrasarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest. With his preceptor Virasarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords, and, eager to study the whole sacred law, entered the college as a mendicant student. There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman, he reflected, "Alas, that in the Kali Age, the Brāhmans should be so much feebler than the Kshatriyas ! For if one has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Veda, the perfection of holiness depends on a king, what can be more painful than this ? And so, with a hand more dexterous in grouping the *Kusa* grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter, and

the oblation vessel, he unsheathed the flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth. Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śipārvata... When the enemy, the king of Kāñchī, came in strength to fight him, he in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault, lighted up on the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength..... The Pallava Lords, having found out this strength of his, as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be of no advantage, so they quickly chose him for a friend. Then, entering the king's service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battle and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet offered by the Pallavas He also received a territory bordered by the water of the Western sea and bounded by the Piehara [rivet] secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it." [Ib.]

The above extract clearly shows that the founder of the Kadamba Dynasty was a Brāhmaṇa who carried on a successful war of independence for his people against his Pallava overlord who was a Khatriya and who fell below his ideal of "the perfection of holiness." The Kadamba capital was at the ancient city of Vanavāsi in the forest which covered the Dhārāwār District. The numerous inscriptions, temples and other remains point to a well-governed and prosperous state. The rise of the Kadambas as an independent power took place about the middle of the fourth century A. D. The immediate successors of Mayūraśarnan were mere names until we come to Kākusthavarman who considerably increased the Kadamba power by wars and conquests. The next important Kadamba ruler was Ravivarman who reigned in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. He made successful wars both against the Pallavas and the Gangas. He was the last great king of the early Kadambas who fell a victim to the rising power of the Chālukyas of Vāṭāpi in the middle of the sixth century A.D. The dynasty was not, however, altogether destroyed. About the end of the 10th century A.D. we find the later Kadamba princes again rising as a great power after the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭa.

dynasty. The main centres of their power were Hangal [Dhārwār Dist.] and Goa.¹

THE GANGAS

Another dynasty which for some centuries played an important part in the history of the Deccan was the Gaṅgas whose territory comprised most of the country now known as Mysore. The Gangas and their offshoots had a long and prosperous reign, lasting from the fourth to the 11th century A. D. The first and second kings of the dynasty known from Sasanakoṭa 'plates'¹ were Kaṅkaṇa Vaiṭman and Mahādeva Varman. One of their kings was *Harivarman* who built a new capital at Talakāḍ on the Kaverī in the Mysore district. *Durvīnīta* was a famous king of the dynasty. Great in war and learning, he successfully fought the Pallavas and is reputed to be the author of the Sanskrit version of the original *Bribhukathā* in the Pañcāḥī language. Many other works also are ascribed to him. Another great king of the dynasty was *Sripurusha* (c. 726-76 A. D.) who successfully fought against the Pallavas as well as as the rising power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. It is by the Rāshtrakūṭas that they were humbled in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Finally about the close of the 10th century A. D. the Chōlas captured their capital Talakāḍ and their power finally destroyed.

The Gaṅgas were zealous patrons of the Jainas. The colossal statue of the Jaina saint Gomateśvara at Śravana Belagola was erected by a minister of the Gaṅga king, Rājā Malla IV in A.D. 984.

¹ E. I. XXIV, p. 234 ff.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PALLAVAS AND THE TAMIL STATES OF THE SOUTH

Southern India or the Dravida Land corresponds roughly to the Madras Presidency and comprises that part of the Peninsula which lies to the South of the Krishnā and Tungabhadrā rivers. Tamil is the oldest and principal Dravidian tongue, others are Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam. Malayālam is a later development of Tamil. "Dravida and Tamil are two forms of the same word"¹ Dravidian India was early divided into three kingdoms, the *Pāndya* in the extreme south, corresponding to the present Madura and Tinnevelly districts, the *Cheras* or Ketela who were settled along the Malabar Coast, comprising the present states of Travancore and Cochin, and the *Cholas*, located to the north of the Pāndyas as far as the Pennār river, and along the east coast which for this reason was known as the Chola Mandalam or Coromandel coast.² The Indo-Aryan of the North could not establish their political dominance over the Tamil States. The Indo-Aryan cultural influence lightly touched only the fringe of the Dravida country. The three Tamil states of Chola, Chera and Pāndya were outside the empire of even Aśoka who, however, sent a Buddhist mission to those countries. The result was that the Dravida people developed their culture and language more or less unaffected by those of the Indo-Aryans of the north. The Dravidian architecture, their literature and their distinct types of civilisation, of which we shall deal more fully in a subsequent chapter, bear testimony to that fact. Before, however, narrating the history of the old Tamil States of the South referred to above, we shall deal with the history of an important dynasty, namely that of the Pallavas, which grew in the Dravida country about the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 177.

² Ib.

THE PALLAVAS (325 -- 720 A.D.)

About the origin of these gifted people who played an important part in the history of the South for about 600 years we have little reliable information. They arose into prominence about 325 A.D. on the east coast in the region between the Pennar and the Pelar rivers, comprising a good bit of the northern portion of the Chola land [see Map. 3]. The Pallavas appear to have been in the beginning a branch of the original Tamil King [y B.C.]

Different theories about their origin which is obscure

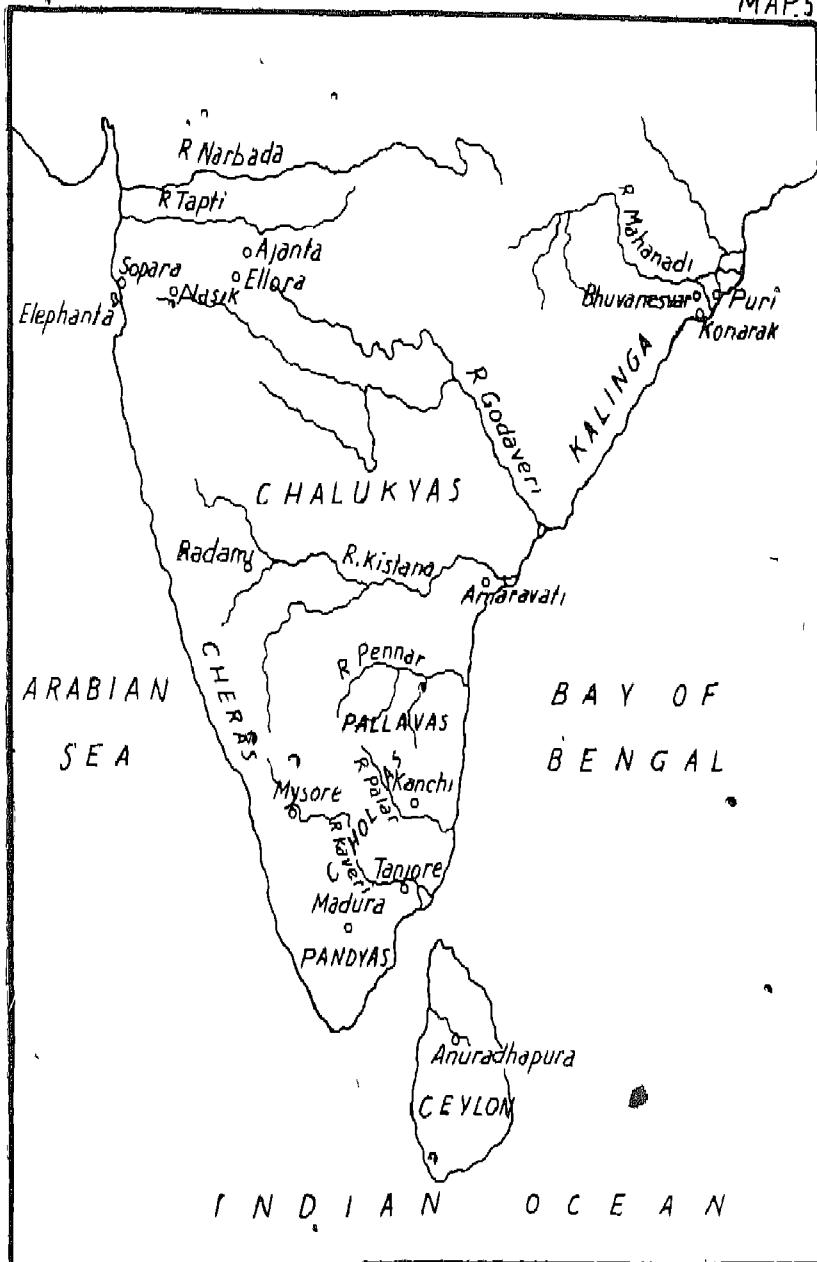
mentions the Pāṇḍyas and Chōlas. Megasthenes, [4th. cent. B.C.] knew the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Aśoka [3rd cent. B.C.] refers to the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas [Cheras]. But the name of the Pallavas does not occur in any of the above sources. That the Pallavas were a branch of the Pahlavas or Parthians of North-Western India was the opinion of some scholars. Father Heras¹ recently revived this theory which has been generally abandoned by scholars as they do not find anything in it except superficial similarity in names. There is hardly any positive evidence of Pallava migration in South India. Another theory is that the Pallavas were an indigenous dynasty who rose to power on the dissolution of the Āndhra empire. Their leaders collected round their numbers of Kurumbas, Morabas, Kallas and other feudatory tribes and formed them into a strong and aggressive power.² A third view is held by Mr. M. C. Rasanyagam [Ind. Ant. LII, pp. 72-82] that the Pallava dynasty arose out of the union of a Chōla prince and the Nāga princess of Manipallavam [an island near the coast of Ceylon]. The son born out of this wedlock was made king of Tandamandalam by his father and the dynasty he founded was named after his mother's island home. Dr. Kishnaswami Aiyangar's statement is somewhat corroborative of their Nāga extraction. He says [JIH, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 20-66] that the Pallavas have been mentioned as Tonḍiyar in the Saṅgam Literature and

¹ Journal of the University of Bombay, Jan. 1936.

² Rawlinson, India, p. 194.

SOUTH INDIA IN C. 800 A.D.

MAP 5



that they were descended from the Nāga chieftains who were vassals of the Śātavāhana kings. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, however, thinks [JBORS, March-June, 1923, pp. 180-83] that the Pallavas were a branch of the Brāhmaṇ royal dynasty of Vākāṭakas of the North and being militarists by profession carved out a principality in the South. But the Talagunḍa inscription, as we have seen [*Supra*; p. 358f.] clearly states that the Pallavas of Kāñchi were Kshatriyas. Yuan Chwang who visited Kāñchi about 640 A.D. says, among other things, 'that their writing and language differed only slightly from that of Northern India'. This statement, if accepted as true, goes a long way to prove their northern origin. It may also be noted in this connection that except their three early copper-plate charters which are in Prākrit, their epigraphs are all in Sanskrit.

Whatever their origin, we find about A.D. 350 that the Pallavas established themselves on the east coast, in the Chola territory, and occupied the famous city of Kāñchi [Conjeeveram], which, like Madura, was one of the great seats of learning of Southern India.

The earliest Pallava king of which we have any reliable information is Vishnugopa of Kāñchi whom Samudragupta defeated when

the latter led an expedition into the Deccan.
Early Pallava Hastivaiman of Vengi, a contemporary of Vishnugopa, also probably belonged to the Pallava

dynasty. The name of another Pallava king of Kāñchi was Sīnhavarman who ascended the throne about 436 A.D. He was a Buddhist [ASR, Mysore, 1908-9, p. 31.] The date is deduced from the colophon of a Jaina work which gives the Śāka year 380 as the 22nd year of Sīnhavarman, king of Kāñchi.

The genealogy of the Pallava kings beginning from Sīnhavishnu is well ascertained¹. He ascended the throne about 436 A.D. Sīnhavishnu had several defeats on the kings of Ceylon and the three Tamil states.

¹ A.S.I., A.R., 1906-7, pp. 217-43; Hultzsch : The Pallava Inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas.

2. Mahendravarman I, son and successor of Simhavishnu [c. A.D. 609-625] suffered several defeats at the hand of Pulakesin II and lost to him the Pallava territory of Venigai over which Pulakesin set his brother Vishnuvardhana. It is probable that the loss of Venigai stimulated the Pallavas to push forward the Southern frontiers resulting in the conquest of Trichinopoly.

Mahendra was at first, a Jaina, and was converted to the Saiva faith by a famous Tamil Saint Tirujsnan-Sambandar. He was a great builder and excavated many rock-cut temples in the Trichinopoly, Chingleput and North and South Arcot districts. We are further informed by the epigraphs [Ep. Ind. XVII, pp. 14-17] that he also built temples in honour of Brahmā, Īśvara, and Vishnu. He also built the famous reservoir, named after him the Mahendra Tank, near the city of Mahendravādi [North-Arcot Dist.], whose ruins still exist. A cave Temple, probably built by him, of Vishnu still exists on the bank of the Tank [Ep. Ind. IV, pp. 152-53].

Mahendravarman I was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman I [c. 625-645 A.D.]. The hereditary conflict with the Chālukyas was continued by him. He avenged the

War with the
Chalukyas

defeat of his father by signally defeating the Chālukyas and taking their capital Vātāpi [642 A.D.]. Pulakesin II probably lost his life in

that battle. The Chālukya power remained in abeyance for thirteen years, during which time the Pallava power became supreme in the South. This claim of his is established by an inscription [Ind. Ant. IX, p. 100], found at Badami [Vātāpi] from which it appears that Narasimha I bore the title of Mahamalla.

During his reign Yuan Chwang visited Kāñchi and stayed for a considerable time. He described the country of which Kāñchi was

Yuan-Chwang's visit. the capital as Dravida and 1000 miles in circuit. The soil was fertile, well-cultivated, and produc-

tion plenty. The capital was a large city, five or six miles in circumference and contained 100 Buddhist monasteries and 10,000 monks. Jaina temples numbered about forty. Kāñchi

is reckoned among the seven sacred cities of the Hindus and the birth-place of the famous theologian Dharmapāla, the rector of Nālandā, first before Śilabhadra [Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, pp. 228-29]. Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla built a wonderful seabeach town near Kāñchi and within 32 miles of Madras and called it, after his own name Mahāmallapuram [Mahābalipuram]. The town is remarkable for the existence of many monolithic temples [*infra* p. 367] of which the Dharmarāja Ratha and probably several others were built by Narasimhavarman.

4 His son and successor Mahendravarman II about whose reign there is hardly any record of note. Mahendravarman's successor 5 was Paramesvaravarman. During his time the old feud of his dynasty with Chālukyas revived. This time the table was turned on the Pallavas. According to a Chālukyan record [Ep. Ind. X, pp. 100-06] Vikramāditya I Chālukya recovered about 655 A.D. the fortunes of his family from the Pallava King Parameśvaraman and captured Kāñchi. This claim to victory is, however, disputed in the Pallava records. Paramesvaravarman was a worshipper of Śiva and built a number of Śaiva temples in his kingdom.

6 About the close of the 7th century A.D., Parameśvaravarman was succeeded by Narasimhavarman II who assumed the viruda Rājasimha. Peace and prosperity reigned during his regime. He built the famous Kailāsanatha temple at Kāñchi. He was a patron of letters.

7 The successor of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha was Paramesvara II about whom we know nothing. He was succeeded by Nandivarman about the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. Nandivarman belonged to a collateral branch, being descended from the time of Simhavishnu's brother, Bhūmivarman. During his reign the Pallava-Chālukya conflict revived. Vikramāditya II Chālukya captured his capital which Nandivarman soon recovered. He also fought against the Pāndyas and the Rāshtrakūtas. He died after a long reign of more than sixty years. He was an adherent of Vaishnavism and built a number of temples.

in honour of his god. Nandiyarman was succeeded by several prince ~~successors~~ in the ninth century A.D. who having allied himself with the Cholas, under Sripati I against his hereditary enemies, the Pāṇḍyas, inflicted a crushing defeat on their king Varaguna II at the battle of Sri Purambiyam. But the fight continued with this other hereditary enemies, the Cholas to whom he ultimately succumbed and his dynasty destroyed about the close of the ninth century A.D.

Like the distinguished members of his family Aparajitavarman was also a great builder and introduced a new technique in the art of building [*infra*].

The period of Pallava rule is marked by considerable literary activities. The Pallava rulers were great patrons of letters, especially of Sanskrit, which was the language used Literature for all royal epigraphs, barring a few earlier ones.

Kāñchi was the seat of Sanskrit learning in the South. Brāhmans living in different parts of the Pallava country also cultivated it. Poems of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and works of Varāha-Mihira were well-known in the Pallava country. The Kurram Copper-Plate grant of Parameśvaravarman I was made for the recitation of the Mahābhārata in a maṇḍapa at the village of Kurgam near Conjeeverath. In the village of Kurram there were 108 families that studied the four Vedas. Tamil classics also grew under royal patronage. The Tamil Kūṭal of Trivalluvar was a work of recognised worth at the time.

* The caves and structural temples and other architectural remains of the Pallavas form an important chapter in Hindu art.

Pallava Art There has been a regular evolution of the Pallava art of building with its different styles. [1] The first is what is called the *Mahendra style* [c. 600-625 A.D.]. The cave-temple inscription of Mahendravarman I at Mandagapāṭṭa [South Arcot Dist.], together with the inscription containing his *birudus* found in an ancient pillar embroidered in the *Ekāmbaranātha Śvāmin temple* at Kāñchi proves that Mahendra introduced the cave-style, probably from the Krishnā district. Reference may also be made to the Jaina Pallava paint-

ing recently discovered in a cave-shrine at Sittanāvasal, Pudokottai State, assigned to the reign of Mahendravarman I. [2] The second is the *Māmalla style* [c 625-674 A.D.]. The greater part of the work on the cave temples, the 'Descent of the Ganges' and the 'Five Rathas' at Māmallaputram seems to have been executed early in the seventh century. Of the cave temples, the *Trimūrti*, *Varāha*, *Durgā*, and *Five Pāndavas* are the most important. The *Varāha*, like the Five Pāndavas, has a verandah with the slender octagonal pillars supported by a sitting lion *simha-stambha*, characteristic of a Pallava structure after Mahendra. In the Vaiśā Cave there is a series of well-known and magnificent reliefs, representing the *Varāha-Avatāra*, *Sūrya*, *Durgā*, *Gaja-Lakshmi*, and two fine groups of royal figures, representing *Simhavishnu* and *Mahendravarman* with their queens. With these sculptures must be remembered the open rock-cut 'Tītham,' commonly known as Arjuna's penance.

The *Five Rathas* at Mahābalipuram are all monoliths cut from a series of boulder-like granitic outcrops on the shore. All are of the same period, the first half of the seventh century, and in the same style, though of varied form, evidently representing contemporary types of structural buildings. Named after the five Pāndavas, they all appear to be Saiva shrines. The *Sahadeva*, *Dharmarāja*, and *Bhīma* rathas have characteristic pyramidal roofs of three distinct storeys and chaitya-window niches. The *Arjunaratha* illustrates the simplest form of the Dravidian temple. The *Draupadiratha* is a small square shrine with a square curvilinear roof like a modern brick temple. [3] The third is what is called the *Rājasimha style*. The structural temples at Kāñchi and the shore temple at Mahābalipuram date from the beginning of the eighth century A.D., and are due to Rājasimha. The most important of these is the famous *Kailāśa Temple* at Kāñchi. The shrine with its pyramidal tower and flat-roofed mandapam is surrounded by a series of cells, resembling *rathas*; but here the Pallava style is further evolved and more elaborate. In matters of details may be mentioned the more numerous lion-supporting pillars. Among other Rājasimha temples datable near to

700-720 A.D. may be the structural shore Temple at Mahābalipuram. [4] The fourth and the last is known as the *Aparajita* style [900 A.D.]. We find in his time a further evolution of the Pallava Art of building which approached the Chola style. The *lingams* are cylindrical and the abacus above the capital more conspicuous. A shrine at Bahur, near Pondicherry, is illustrative of this type.

nts State

THE CHOLA EMPIRE 907 AD -

The three states of the Tamil country, that is, the region south of the Kṛishnā and Tāṇḍī, hā a. c. according to the *Geography* of the Āndhras, the Cholas, the Ādikāras and Pallavas. They were very ancient states, being mentioned by Megasthenes and in Asokas' edicts. Their early history is, however, obscure. As we have seen, they were dominated first by the Andhras and then the Pallavas. Towards the close of the 9th century, Cholas rose into prominence by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Pallavas who thus lost all hope of establishing their supremacy in the South. The Cholas captured Tanjore and established their capital there.

The Cholas were unknown to Pāṇini, but familiar to Kātyāyana, and recognised by Asoka as an independent state [RE. XIII]. The *Periplus* [c. 100 A.D.] and Ptolemy's *Geography* [c. 200 A.D.] provide us with some information about the ports and inland towns of the Cholas country. The kingdom of the Cholas included Madras, several other districts and the greater part of the present Mysore State.

The real founder of the Chola supremacy in Southern India was ~~Pāṇḍya~~ ^{Parantaka} I who reigned from 907 to 946 A.D. He defeated the ~~Pāṇḍya~~ ^{Cholas} and also invaded Ceylon. Parantaka's son and successor Rājāditya was faced with great hostility of the Rashtrakūṭas who defeated and killed him at the battle of Takkola. The greatest ruler of the dynasty was Rājarāja I [985-1012] who did re-inventing of the great Chola Empire by extensive conquests. Within twelve years of his

accession, he destroyed the independence of the eastern Chālukyas of Vengī, the Pāṇḍyas of Madura, the Gaṅgas of Mysore and the chiefs of the Malabar Coast. He also conquered Kalinga in the north and Ceylon in the south. He built a powerful navy and with its help, controlled the coastal waters of his extensive territory and started operation against the island of the Indian Archipelago. He built the great Rājarājeśvara Temple of Śiva at Tanjore, on the walls of which are found inscribed the records of his conquests. He also made a thorough survey of the country for the purpose of assessing land revenues on a fair basis.

4. He was succeeded by his son, Rājendra Chola I [c. 1012-1042 A. D.] who consolidated the empire built by his father and also extended it. He broke the power of the western Chālukyas, defeated the king of Gondawāna in Central India, conquered the Burmese Coast islands, the Malaya Peninsula, and completed the conquest of the Indian Archipelago begun by his father. His army invaded Orissa and Bengal advancing as far as the southern banks of the Gaṅges, opposite Gonda. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest conquerors and deservedly assumed the title of Gaṅgaikonda in memory of his victory in the Gangetic province. His navy made the conquest of the island of Laccadives [Lakshadvipa], the island of Maldives [Māladīypa] of the Malabar Coast and the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal.

5. Rājādhirāja [1042-52], the son and successor of Rājendra Chola I, was faced with frequent revolts which broke out in the empire. But he was able to maintain order by inflicting several defeats on some of the most powerful of the rebellious princes of Chera, Pāṇḍya and Ceylon. He then invaded the Chālukya dominions. A sanguinary battle was fought between him and the Chālukya king Somesvara at Koppam in which Rājādhurāja was killed. But his younger brother, Rājendra Deva [1052-63], who was crowned to succeed him on the battle-field, led the battle to fir-

7. death [1052-63].
70] inflicted another defeat on the western Chālukyas at the battle

of Kudala Saṅgamani at the apex of the Krishnā Tuṅgabhadrā Doab. He also annexed the Kanara countries to the Chōla empire. He died in 1070 and was succeeded by his son *Aḍhirajendra* who was assassinated for unpopularity and the throne passed on to *Kulottunga*, an eastern Chālukya prince, who was the daughter's son of Rājendra Chōla I Gāṅgaikonḍa. He proved himself a successful warrior. He defeated the revolted Pāṇḍya princes and chiefs of Mālābar. He was a good administrator and made an elaborate revision of the revenue survey of the empire. He reigned
 8. from 1070 to 1118 A.D. After his death, the Chōla empire began to decline during the reign of his successors, none of them having any record of any conspicuous achievement. The Hoysalas of Mysore as well as the Pāṇḍyas of the South drove the Chōlas from their territories. Many smaller feudal barons also asserted their independence. The last king of the Chōla dynasty was
 9. Rājendra Chōla III who managed to exist as an independent prince till 1267. There is no record of any prince after him.

CHOLA ADMINISTRATION

The Chōlas developed a highly efficient system of administration.¹ The empire was divided into six provinces, called *Mandalam*. Each Maḍala or provinces was divided into a number of *Koṭṭams* [like modern divisions of British provinces]. Each Koṭṭam again was subdivided into a number of districts called *Nāḍus* and within the territorial jurisdiction of a Nāḍu, there were several village unions called *Kurrams* and *Tar-Kurrams* which were the units of administration.

The King was the head of the administration. He gave close attention to the details of government. His orders were recorded by his secretaries who communicated them to the viceroys.

¹ Read Prof. K. A. Nilkantha Śāstri, (1) *Studies in Chōla History and Administration*. (2) *The Chōlas in 2 Vols.*

A viceroy was appointed to rule the Mandala. Each mandala or province being an old kingdom, its viceroy was either a descendant of its dispossessed royal house or a close relation of the king himself. He was in constant communication with the Central Government, receiving the king's order and reporting actions to him. He had under him a body of officials to conduct the administration according to his orders. All records were properly kept.

The chief source of the income of the Government was the land-tax which was usually $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce. Besides, there were other petty imposts, such as dues on trade and profession, salt-tax, water-cesses and fines and custom dues. The revenue was collected in the village unions by their executives. Each village union or the Kuiram had its local treasury where the unspent balance of the revenue was kept. Taxes were paid either in gold or in kind. Remissions were granted when necessary. The currency was the golden *Kāsh*, weighing $\frac{1}{6}$ of an ounce.

Land revenue being the chief source of state finance, assessment was made with good care. For this purpose, there were periodical and thorough surveys of land of the whole country. There are records of two such surveys one made by Rājarāja in 1086 and the other by Kulottunga I.

The Chola kings spent large sums on public works. Roads, bridges and ferries were maintained. An extensive irrigation system existed. Dams were thrown across the rivers to divert waters to smaller channels. Artificial reservoirs, tanks and wells were also used for purposes of irrigation.

Having had to protect a large empire and extensive sea-coast, the Cholas maintained a standing army as well as navy. The army was divided thus : [1] Archers ; [2] Forest-soldiers ; [3] Chosen horsemen [4] Elephant corps.

LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT

Development of village autonomy was the most unique feature in the Chola administrative system. The Kurrams were self-governing units. All power of administration was vested in a General Assembly of the Union elected by the people. It had a number of working committees to work after the details of administration in each. There were eight such committees : [1]

The Village Assembly or Mahasabha

The committee that looked after the gardens ; [2] that looked after the irrigation tanks ; [3] that looked after the cultivated fields ; [4] that looked after the affairs of the village generally ; [5] Accounts Committee ; [6] that looked after studies , [7] that looked after the disposal of lands, and [8] that looked after roads. The Assembly through its committees had complete control of the administration. All taxes were collected in the name of the Assembly which made the necessary disbursements and kept the balance in the Union Treasury. All unoccupied and unappropriated lands were at the disposal of the Assembly. Even when the royal officers or members of the royal family had to make gifts to temples they had to adopt the procedure of passing through the Mahasabha for the acquisition of lands and managing for their gifts. The Mahasabha made provision for the laying out of the land and bringing them under cultivation, making large or small plots, providing facilities for irrigation, suitable approaches to the fields and construction and maintenance of roads for traffic of men and cattle and conveyance of produce from fields to farm-houses and from thence to markets. All these the Assembly did through the committees referred to above and acted independently of any reference to head-quarters. Besides all these activities of rural utility, the Assembly was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and administration of criminal justice. It had the power of passing the highest sentence on criminals. The death sentence was, however, subject to appeals to higher authorities. The king was, of course, the highest appellate authority of the country, while the royal officers supervised its administration and

checked its accounts and records. The village administration was completely autonomous with the result that the Central Government was relieved of a great deal of responsibility and was assured of popular support. These administrative village units were called Kuirams and constituted a certain number of villages thrown together and farming something like a Union in modern times. There were also a certain number of townships which were large enough to stand by themselves. They constituted divisions by themselves and were called *Tur-kurram* in the inscriptions. A typical township described as a *Tur-Kuṭṭam* was *Uttarameyūr* where nearly two hundred inscriptions indicating the nature of the village administration have been found. Each *Kuṭṭam* or *Tur-Kuṭṭam* was divided into several Waids as in a modern municipal town. For example, *Uttarameyūr* was divided into thirty wards.¹

MARITIME COMMERCE AND NAVAL ACTIVITIES

Ancient Tamil literature² and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandal and Chola coasts enjoyed the benefit of an active commerce with both east and west. The Chola fleet boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal to carry on trade with Burma, Ceylon, the islands of the Indian Ocean and the Malaya Archipelago. The great Chola port of Kaveripadam was a great centre of trade and traffic.

The Chola emperors had organised a highly effective navy. We have seen, how with its help, Rājarāja I and Rājendra Chola I made extensive conquests overseas. Rājarāja destroyed the fleet of the Cheras at Kandalur and subjugated them. He also invaded the island and annexed its northern part which became a Chola province under the name of Muṇmudi Chola-Mandalam.

¹ S.I.I. Vol. II.

² Cf. *Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* [1904] by V. Kanakasabhai.

The effectiveness of the Chola fleet is also proved by the fact that Rājarāja conquered the Maladive and the Laccadive islands. — Rājarāja's son and successor Rājendra I annexed the whole of Ceylon about 1017 A.D., and maintained his hold on the islands conquered by his father.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Great in the art of administration, the Chola kings were also great builders, and all their works were on a most stupendous scale. The most laudable undertakings in this direction were their vast irrigation schemes. The embankment of the artificial lake built by Rājendra Chola I near his new capital Gangaikonda Cholapuram was sixteen miles in length, with stone sluices and channels. Dams composed of huge blocks of dressed stone, were thrown across the Kaverī and other rivers. Chola cities were elaborately planned and laid out. The centre of the city was the temple. The Chola kings were Śaivas. Rājarāja built about 1011 A.D. a magnificent temple of Śiva at Tanjore. His son Rājendra I built a new capital Gangaikonda-cholapuram and built a temple there. In the great *Tanjore Temple*, the tower rises pyramid-wise to a height of 190 feet in thirteen successive stories. It is surrounded by a single block of stone, 25 feet high and weighing about 80 tons. To place this imposition was a remarkable engineering feat. The temple is contained in two spacious court-yards, the larger of which measures 250 feet by 500 feet. More graceful if less imposing is the *Subrahmanya Temple* in the same city, with its highly decorated tower, less severe in outline. The temple erected in by Rājendra I in his new capital Gangaikonda-cholapuram is another imposing work of Chola Architecture. Its great size, huge *lingam* of solid granite, and the delicate carvings in stone are its striking features.

THE PĀNDYA KINGDOM

The Pāndyas, another Dravidian race, occupied the regions comprising the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevelly with parts of Travancore. Pāndya is the most ancient of the Tamil States. It is mentioned by Megasthenes and Asoka's inscrip-

tions [Kalinga R.E.]. Its ancient history is obscure. The early Pāndya kings issued copper coins with the symbol of the fish. We read in Strabo's History of the Romans that king Pandion sent a mission to Caesar in B.C. 20. But their early history is obscure and the first Pāndya king who can be placed in a definite chronological position was Nedum-Cheliyan who lived about the end of the second century A.D. In Yuan Chwang's time, the Pāndyas were tributary to the Pallavas of Kāñchī, and Buddhism was almost extinct. Towards the close of the ninth century, they combined with the Cholas to defeat the Pallavas and recover their independence. But in the eleventh century, they had to submit to the Chola suzerainty. After the downfall of the Cholas in the thirteenth century, the Pāndyas again asserted their independence and became the leading power in the South for a time. The most well-known of the independent Pāndya kings was *Sundara Pāndya I* who came to the throne in 1216 and conquered the Chola capitals of Tanjore and Udaipur. His inscriptions are found in the Chola country proper, i.e., the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Sundara Pāndya died in 1238 A.D. and was succeeded by his son *Sundara Pāndya II*. He was confronted with the rising power of the Hoyasalas of Dvārasamudra who advanced along the base of the Eastern Ghats and annexed them. The coast land only remained in possession of the Pāndyas. Ultimately the Pāndyas became feudatories of the Hoyasalas of Dvārasamudra and when the latter collapsed before the Mussalman invasion in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Madura and the Pāndya country also came under the Mussalman supremacy. Petty Pāndya chiefs continued to rule over Madura as vassals, first of the Muslim viceroys of the South and then of the Vijayanagara kingdom which absorbed them in the sixteenth century.

The *Mahāvamsa* and a long Chola inscription at Arupakham near Kāñchī [Madras, G.O. Publications nos. 922, 923, dated 1919, pp. 8—14] speak of a great war between the Pāndyas and Ceylon which invaded the country. The occasion of the Ceylonese invasion was a disputed succession to the Pāndya throne of Madura, the contesting claimants being Vira and Sundara.

THE CHERA KINGDOM

The ancient name of Chera is Kerala. The Chera kingdom, another Tamil State, comprised the modern Travancore State, Cochin and portions of Malabar. It is also very ancient and was mentioned in Asoka's Rock Edicts. In the beginning of the Christian era, we find *Perumir* as the king of the Cheras. He was killed in battle with the king of the Cholas. He was succeeded by his son *Ura-Jet-Semi*. The Chera king *Adām II* had married a daughter of Karikala, the Chola king. Their son *Seniguttaram* was a very powerful king who twice defeated the Cholas and made the Cheras a supreme power in the South. His successor *Sey* was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king and the Cheras lost their supremacy to Pāṇḍayas until the rise of the Pallava foreigners in the fourth century A.D. In the tenth century A.D. the Cheras came under the rule of the Cholas under Rājarāja Chola.

CHAPTER XVII

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE

I

A general review of the history of the South reveals some interesting facts which deserve notice. All the three principal religions of the North, Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmanism, were introduced into the South. Jainism was introduced in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. Aśoka spread Buddhism in the Peninsula. By the seventh century, orthodox Hinduism overshadowed both Jainism and Buddhism and became the dominant faith in that region. The contribution of the South to the religious life of India was in the form of the Bhakti cult. Śaivism and Vaishnavism were the two products of the Bhakti Cult. Splendid temples of Śiva and Vishnu were erected throughout the Peninsula by the Pallava and Chola rulers. Nāthamuni and Rāmānuja, the two saintly exponents of the Bhaktimārga in Vaishnavism, and Basava, the founder of the Lingayat Sect in Śaivism, are well-known and honoured names throughout India.

A code of law like that of Manu in North India grew up in South India under the name of Apastamba in the fifth or fourth century B.C. It grew up in the Andhra country. Literature: Art and Architecture and bears the mark of the Aryan influence.

But of the indigenous literature of the South—the Tamil literature—unaffected by the Aryan influence, the earliest book we hear of is the *Kural*, an ethical classics. Its author Tiru-Valluvar was born in Mylapore about the second century A.D. He set the standard of literary excellence and his work became one of the most popular in the region, south of the Godāvari. Tamil literature, sculpture and painting were highly developed under the patronage of the Pallava and Chola rulers. The existence of innumerable magnificent

temples and buildings in the South in the early and mediaeval periods, already referred to, not only testifies to the love of building and sculpture evinced by South-Indian rulers but also bears the impress of a new technique in architecture giving rise to the Pallava-Chola School of Arts which inspired all subsequent buildings in the South in the early and mediaeval periods. The chief characteristic of Dravidian temples is the massive *Vimāna* or tower, crowning the central shrine. In the later Dravidian temples, the central tower is dwarfed by lofty *Gopuras* or gateways, decorated with masses of stucco ornamentation, which dominate the flat country for many miles around. Temples have frequently vast enclosures within their walls and a prominent feature is a tank in the centre, which is used for religious ablutions. It is usually surrounded on four sides by a colonnade with pillared cloisters and steps running down to the water.

If we can recall of anything in Indian art and architecture, literature and social institutions, indigenous in the sense of being pre-Aryan, it is found in the South." The late Sundaram Pillai truly remarked : "The attempt to find the basic element of Hindu civilisation by a study of Sanskrit in Upper India is to begin the problem at its worst and most complicated point. India, south of the Vindhya—the Peninsular India—still continues to be India proper. Here the bulk of the people retain their pre-Aryan features, their pre-Aryan languages, their pre-Aryan social institutions. Even here, the process of Aryaniation has gone indeed too far to leave it easy to the historian to distinguish the native warp from the foreign woof. But, if there is anywhere any chance of such successful disentanglement, it is in the South and the further south we go, the larger does the chance grow."¹

The Tamil States being maritime countries, the people of those states developed into a great sea-going people. They were the earliest people to build an Indian navy and marine and develop a maritime commerce. The Indian mariners carried on trade with Arabia, Babylon, Ceylon and the islands of the Indian Archipelago.

¹ *Tamilian Antiquity*, 1908, p. 9.

The powerful navy of the Cholas having conquered, as already noted, Ceylon, the islands of Burmese coasts, the Malaya Peninsula, Malabar coast islands, the Nicobar islands and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, laid the foundation of a Great India. The recent discovery of large hoards of Roman coins in some districts of the South reveals that extensive trade was carried on between the Roman Empire and the Tamil States in the first and second centuries A.D.

Another important feature peculiar to South Indian administration is the growth of the local self-government in the form of village autonomy which has been already described in some detail in connection with the Chola Local Self-government administration. It was a common feature in the administration of all the Tamil States.

II

It is generally on evidence that the Neolithic man passed in South India from the use of polished stone to that of iron, while in the corresponding period in Northern India South India: older than North India the transition seems to have been from stone to copper and later to iron. Peninsular India has been recognised as geologically older, consequently the existence of man and civilisation in the South is older than in the North. The Indo-Aryan from the North, when they first began to penetrate the country, south of the Krishnā, found an advanced civilisation already established.

'Dravidian' is essentially a linguistic term and used to a group of languages. It is loosely applied to mean an ethnic group or race. There are two groups of people in the

Dravidian Society.

The latter group is still persisting in many backward and unreclaimed groups of people that still inhabit India. When ultimately the Aryan immigration into South India did take place many elements of Dravidian civilisation

found entry into the Aryan civilisation which ultimately developed into Indian civilisation. The main core of society from its very inception in the South consisted of two main groups—the cultivators who formed the majority and the land-owners. From among the latter class came the kingly families. There were various classes of agricultural labourers—Nāgas with various occupations, the fisher-folk, the hunter-folk etc. Therein lies the rudiments of the Caste System as it obtains in India today, as distinct from the Varṇāśrama Dharma of the Aryan Society. The hardy peasant folk of the country made good soldiers. Monuments to warriors who had fallen in battle are common objects.

The Tamils were bold sailors and skilled agriculturists. The pearl and conch fisheries go back to pre-historic times. The

^{Trade and Industry.} Rāmāyaṇa speaks of Madura as adorned with gold and jewels. The Arthaśāstra [c. 400-300 B.C.] refers to Pāṇḍya Kāvaṭakas, a class of

peasants, found in the extreme south. The land was well tilled and efficiently irrigated. Pottery, weaving and metal work were the usual village occupations. Southern India possessed a number of commodities for which western nation had an urgent need—spices and precious stones. According to Rawlinson this trade with Yemen and the Red Sea must have gone on from very early times. According to the Bible “Hiram king of Tyre, sent his ‘Ships of Tarish’ from Ezion Geber [Akaba on the eastern arm of the Gulf of Suez] on a triennial voyage to Ophir, probably Sopārā on the Bombay coast, to fetch ivory, apes and peacocks and a great number of almug trees and precious stones for the temple then being built by his powerful ally king Solomon.”¹

He continues that the Hebrew names for these commodities clearly reveal their Indian origin. For example, the Hebrew names for ivory is *Shen habbin*, Skt. *ibba danta*, that of apes is *koph*, Skt. *Kapi*, that of peacocks is *Tukti-im*; Tamil *Tokei* [Ib. and n. 1].

¹ Rawlinson, India, p. 178.

Among other articles of commerce were pepper, cinnamon, rice, coal, and tortoise which grew in the South in sufficient quantities. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* [c. 81 A.D.] throws further light on the South Indian trade with the west. The vast numbers of Roman copper coins found at Madura reveal the fact that there was a brisk trade between the Pāndya country and Rome. Strabo [c. 25 B.C.] tells us that on the accession of the Emperor Augustus, a Pāndyan king sent an embassy to congratulate him. The ambassadors took off from Barygaza [Broach] and went overland from the Persian Gulf and took with them various Indian beasts, birds, and snakes as presents. A jaina or Buddhist monk named Sarmanochegas [Śramaṇāchārya] accompanied the embassy and following the example of the famous Kalanos in the time of Alexander the Great, burnt himself to death at Athens.¹

It is from the time of Aśoka that we come to a definite knowledge of the political divisions of the South.

Peaceful penetration of Aryan Culture In R.E. XII Aśoka speaks of his dominions in three compartments: Northern India, dependent states in Southern India, and independent states in the Far South. These independent states were Chola, Pāndya, Keralaputia [Chera ?] and Satya Putia [not yet properly identified]. He further says that these southern kings were his neighbours, and his propagation of the *Dharma* must have been made with the support of the rulers who were placed on a footing similar to the five *Yavana* [Greek] kings of the West. We may, therefore, take it that Buddhism penetrated in the South peacefully. There is thus little doubt that votaries of Sanskrit culture—Brāhmans, Buddhists, and Jainas—came in and made settlements in this region. Such influence as they exercised upon the Tamil Society was the result of example rather than compulsion from authority.

The doctrine of Bhakti is devotion to personal God, the devotion and service of individuals to Him as a means of attaining salvation by grace that transforms Brāhmans of old to Hindus of modern

¹ Ib. p. 180.

times, and the Hinayāna Buddhism [the basic principle of which is the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* for oneself and by his own exertion] to Mahāyānism [the basic principle of which is service to humanity, salvation for others, faith in, and devotion to a personal god]. This Bhakti movement which has in its genesis the worship of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu is a pre-Aryan and peculiarly Southern cult which gradually found its way to the North. It had its beginning in the South long before the Sanskrit culture penetrated in that region. But its efflorescence is witnessed in the Pallava period of the Saṅgam literature. The Bhakti literature of the Saivas, e.g., the *Tevaram* and *Tirumāchakam* of the Vaishnavas, and the *Prabandhasi literature*^{*} of the Ālavāras alike belong to this age. The religious literature of the bhakti cult gives evidence of the development of *Āgamas* [Sāstric literature] which lies at the root of temple worship, and which again is a direct product of the religion of the Bhakti cult. The whole Āgama literature, both Vaishṇava and Śaiva, numbering more than 120, came into existence to fulfil the needs of the temple worship. The deity in the abstract had to be conceived of in some suitable form, to be installed in images in temples and worshipped in accordance to the Āgama literature. Here the complex presents a mixture of the Aryan and pre-Aryan elements.

During this period of the development of the Bhakti cult in the form of Saivism and Vaishṇavism and temple worship of the deities according to the Āgamas, similar activity and develop-

No Persecution
of any faith by
rulers

ment of Jainism and Buddhism were also witnessed. There is evidence of much contention and disputation. The state and its ruler were

regarded as something distinct, and whatever the personal persuasion of the ruler, his individual religion was not elevated to the position of State religion. This mental position of the king gave no occasion for any attempts at unity or uniformity in religion, and this removed one of the fruitful causes of persecution. Each group of people was allowed freedom of its own course in respect of religion.

This liberalism also pervaded all public life and showed itself in various developments of human activity. Rules adopted the same principle in matters of administration and this led to the

development of local administrative institutions

Liberalism which came ultimately to provide a popular self-governing agency that regulated social and public life in the South. We have seen [*Supta*, p. 372f] how during the period of the Chola empire which included the plain portion of the Peninsular India, epigraphic evidences of the free local institutions for social and administrative work were plenty.

The cult of Bhakti, the Āgama literature and Temple worship naturally led to the development of architecture in the South.

South-Indian Temples, An Institution by themselves Art is the handmaid of religion. The South-Indian temples of Śiva and Vishnu in their magnificence and magnitude are its living examples.

They are monuments of devotion of their votaries who contributed in money and labour to their construction. Royal patronage in building them had full co-operation of the people. In fact, the South Indian temples are almost an institution by themselves. They are the centres of public and religious life of the people of their localities. There they congregate to worship, to discuss politics, social problems and exchange social amenities. They hold public meetings, religious Kirtanas and Kathānāṭakas in the mandapas or “pillared-halls” of the temple.

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APPENDIX ET CORRIGENDA

EARLY HISTORY OF KAUŚAMBĪ

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Some Select Opinions.

Prof. Dr. Barriedale Keith, Scotland. "I have studied with special satisfaction the discussion of the identification of the city and the account of its Archaeological importance. Monographs of this type are of special value and interest both in themselves and auxiliaries to the works of historians. The Allahabad Archaeological Society may congratulate itself for inaugurating so satisfactorily its series of publications."

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